

THE PEDAGOGICAL WORKS OF
JOHANN CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB GRAUPNER

By

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner (1767-1836) was a highly regarded musician and influential champion for the development of music in Boston during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He was an accomplished performer on several instruments, a music teacher, the proprietor of a music store, and one of the first to publish music in Boston. He was also the dominant force behind the formation of the Philharmonic Society and Boston's famous Handel and Haydn Society.

Among his publications, Graupner included six books for instruction in playing the piano, the flute, and the clarinet. Five of these works are extant.

The purposes of this study were (a) to present a comprehensive analysis of these pedagogical works to determine the type of musical instruction available during this period

of American history; (b) to consider these works within the historical context of postrevolution America, a society in its infancy in terms of its development and support of the arts; and (c) to supplement the currently available musicological research on Gottlieb Graupner and his contributions to music instruction and curriculum in Boston during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

Graupner's pedagogical works were all found to have been based largely on previously published instructional materials, especially those of Muzio Clementi, Jan Dussek, R. Shaw, and J. Wragg. Each of the works provided a thorough grounding in the rudiments of music theory and a basic introduction to playing the specified instrument. An analysis of these works revealed that there have been some significant changes in how some musical terminology is used and in some performance practices since they were published. The repertoire found in these tutors is a blend of works by European masters with the patriotic marches and popular folk and love ballads of the day.

Graupner's contribution to music education was significant. He not only filled a need in providing necessary instructional materials for students and teachers, but he also helped to foster an appreciation for the importance of musical learning.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Research involving American music has grown rapidly over the past century. From its modest beginnings in the nineteenth century, early contributors such as John Rowe Parker and John Sullivan Dwight erected a framework for the study of music in America. In the ensuing years, others have added immensely to this body of information and, with each new discovery, have given us greater insights into the development of music in the United States.

Most often this American musicological research has centered on the lives and works of our nation's composers resulting in a style analysis of each individual's aggregate output. There is now available a vast amount of biographical information concerning many of our composers as well as analyses of their music and style characteristics.

One area, however, that often remains relatively untouched in this research is the study of instructional materials and pedagogical works, that is, compositions and collections which were primarily written and compiled for the purpose of teaching a person to play a particular musical instrument. They often include some basic repertoire for the instrument alongside a selection of training exercises and

some explanation of musical notation, and other basic information about the specific instrument.

Much can be learned from a study of such works, for often they give insights into performance practices of the day as well as information about the teaching methods of a specific era. The types of compositions included in such works also give an indication of the general musical tastes of a particular period, at least insofar as they were influenced by the compilers of such pedagogical books.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, there was a mushrooming interest in music and music instruction in our nation. This can be inferred from the increased activity in the sale of music and musical instruments, as well as in the numbers of people enrolled in music instruction. The fact that between the years of 1801 and 1825, nearly 10,000 different musical titles were published in the United States testifies to the importance of music in the lives of Americans in the years when our nation was still in its infancy.

One important figure in the history of American music instruction was Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner, who was very influential in the musical life of Boston during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Gottlieb Graupner (as he preferred to call himself) is best known for founding the first orchestra in the United States, the Philharmonic Society of Boston, and for helping to organize that city's Handel and Haydn Society. He was, however, also

a highly respected teacher of music in Boston and one of the first to publish music there as well. Among his publications, Graupner included many works of contemporary Americans, and several works of his own. Included in the latter are his instructors¹ for piano, flute, and clarinet.

Although these works are listed among Graupner's publications, little has been written about them. Copies of these works are scattered about in library collections throughout the United States, yet there has not been to date any thorough discussion of their contents or their place in the history of musical pedagogy.

Need for the Study

There has been a growing interest in America's musical past over the last several decades. As in all disciplines, however, the interest in the past has not been rationed equally to all eras. One neglected period is the early part of the nineteenth century. Earlier in this century, the renowned American musicologist, Oscar Sonneck, said of this dilemma:

Whoever has had to occupy himself with our recent histories of music in America, will have noticed the scant courtesy shown to the first half of the nineteenth century. . . . More and more I received the impression that the first half of the nineteenth century and no

¹The terms instructor, preceptor, and tutor as used in this work will refer to instructional materials, not to individuals. This was common usage in the early nineteenth century and the terminology that Graupner himself used.

longer the eighteenth century is the mysterious period in our musical past. (Sonneck, 1916/1921/1970, p. 339)

Even in recent years the situation has not completely remedied itself. As one scholar stated, "As yet, we know all too little about 'music in America.' . . . the nineteenth century has remained a virtually unexplored jungle" (Lowens, 1978, p. 7).

One of the reasons for the lack of attention to this period has to do with the differing viewpoints of those conducting the research. This interesting facet of American musicology needs to be considered, especially as it pertains to the early nineteenth century, to gain an appreciation for the lack of research in this area.

This dichotomy in American musicology was most clearly and carefully spelled out in the opening article of the inaugural issue of the journal American Music. In the article, "Musical Learning in Nineteenth-Century America" (Crawford, 1983), the author traced the historiography of American music, which he saw as having been dominated by two virtually exclusive perspectives. The one, put forth by those such as Oscar Sonneck, John Tasker Howard, and H. Earle Johnson, viewed American music as having grown out of European models. This "chip-off-the-old-block" philosophy tended to focus its attention on works modeled on their European counterparts. The vernacular tradition (which includes folk and popular music) is either ignored or viewed as more

primitive, and thus not as noble or important as "true" art music.

The second perspective of American music, as Crawford described it, is a newer development. In the work of such scholars as H. Wiley Hitchcock, Gilbert Chase, and others, he saw a rejection of the assumption that European music must be the model for American music. Thus, their work has centered on composers such as Billings and Ives who found their own way in music without relying on European models.

Because almost all of the prominent musicians in America in the early nineteenth century were immigrants from European countries, they naturally tended to model their music-making on those European forms and values with which they were familiar. For this reason, the second perspective of the history of American music has tended to play down the important contributions that these immigrants made to our young country. Unfortunately, this viewpoint, which generally predominates today, does not give a complete picture any more than the first perspective did.

This kind of attitude suggests that, as helpful as the second perspective has been in identifying a strain of vitality in American musical life, it will not likely lead toward a sympathetic understanding of the nineteenth century. (Crawford, 1983, p. 3)

To help in moving toward the goal of developing a comprehensive picture of music in early nineteenth-century America, Crawford suggested that a study of musical learning

and its dissemination could make that era more accessible to scholarly understanding than it has been to date.

I am willing to predict that a study of musical learning in the nineteenth-century America will surprise us. Americans, accustomed to thinking of musical tradition as a matter of repertoire, tend to believe that we have grown beyond and repudiated all but a tiny part of our own musical past. Perhaps, however, if we define our legacy more broadly, incorporating musical learning and related issues into our musical history, we will discover that our American roots run deeper than we had thought. (p. 7)

This study represents an endeavor to close the gap to some small degree between these two perspectives on the history of American music by studying the pedagogical works of an immigrant musician who was very influential in the musical life of Boston for over thirty years. Because of his respected position in the community as an authority on music, Graupner's pedagogical works are an especially important source for gaining insight into private music instruction at this time.

In 1800, Boston was a thriving city of approximately 25,000 people, and a leading center of American cultural life. These reasons alone make it an excellent geographical choice for historical study. Boston, however, is also widely remembered for its pioneering efforts in the inclusion of music in the curriculum of the public schools. The efforts of Lowell Mason and his contemporaries are well documented.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the work of private music instructors. There has been to date relatively little research conducted in the field of the history of

private instruction. Texts on the history of music education tend to deal exclusively with the teaching of music in the public school systems.

Compartmentalizing music education in this way keeps the researcher from seeing the interaction of public and private music instruction in a historical context. Obviously, decades before music was included in the Boston public schools' curriculum, private music instruction was available in that city. The work of those private music teachers undoubtedly had a great influence upon the ultimate decision to make music instruction available for all school children.

Gates (1990) warned of the dangers of confining the study of the history of music education only to that instruction occurring in the public schools:

That is, we must guard against any attempts to confine music education historical (and other) research to public school music. . . . First, doing history through this "stencil" fails to connect school music to the society that supports it; it doesn't provide enough information for the study of comparative music education questions; it diminishes the political genius of pioneers' and other leaders; it ignores music teachers' nonschool music education activities (church choir directing, private lessons, community arts leadership, etc); and it reduces the chance that information crucial to assessing accurately the strength or weakness of music educators' contributions to the musical life of a society will come to light. Public school music's importance can be either exaggerated or undervalued if music education researchers don't provide the basis for seeing the societal context of music teaching more clearly. (p. 29)

Gottlieb Graupner was indisputably one of the most influential musicians in Boston during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He was a highly respected performer,

promoter, publisher, and teacher of music. Because Graupner was so active in the musical life of Boston, a study of his instructional style is especially important. His influence was widely felt and his opinions were highly respected. It is therefore reasonable to assume that his books of musical instruction (some of which were released in several editions) were highly regarded and widely distributed as well.

A systematic study of these works would provide information about the type of musical instruction available during this period of American history and also provide models for the type of instrumental literature to which the amateur performing public was exposed. Also, because Graupner published instructional materials for several instruments, his are an especially good choice for study since they would provide a wider perspective of music instruction.

Purposes of the Study

The purposes of this study are as follows:

1. Present a comprehensive analysis of the pedagogical works of Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner.
2. Consider these works within their historical context; that is, a society which was in its infancy in terms of development and support of music.
3. Supplement the current musicological research on Gottlieb Graupner giving special emphasis to his contributions to musical instruction and curriculum in Boston during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

Research Questions

Research questions related to the purposes of the study are as follows:

1. What do these works tell us about the musical instruction in Boston during the early nineteenth century?
2. What types of theory instruction are given in these works?
3. Are there instructions for understanding musical notation, rhythm, meter, key signatures, and the like?
4. What information is given on contemporary performance practices? Are, for example, trills and other ornaments explained?
5. Is any explanation of musical terminology given?
6. What type of instruction is given for the physical holding of the instrument (in the case of the flute and clarinet), or information about hand and foot placement (for the piano)?
7. What models, if any, did Graupner use for these works?
8. What types of literature are included as lessons? Which composers are represented in these works?

Methodology

The highly regarded musicologist Glen Haydon (1941) enumerated the stages in musicological research, but warned that they often overlap and that the researcher may be working on several of them at the same time:

1. Being conscious of the problem
2. Defining the problem
3. Integrating the problem into the general scope of music history

4. Searching for materials
5. Analyzing the materials
6. Synthesizing the work of the analyses
7. Style-critique
8. Writing the final statement

The first three steps are preparatory in nature and have been addressed already in the opening sections of this chapter. The next four involve locating and analyzing the pedagogical works of Gottlieb Graupner, while the last entails putting the gathered information into an accessible format which can be used by others to better understand and interpret the musical life in Boston in the early nineteenth century.

Musicological research is dependent upon both primary and secondary sources for information. This research dealt with both. In this project, the primary sources included the pedagogical works of Gottlieb Graupner along with his personal and business correspondence and records, as well as any pertinent information available through public documents, newspaper articles and advertisements. The secondary sources were chiefly ones which provided biographical and background information into the life and times of Graupner. These included historical surveys of American music as well as non-musical histories, which give insight into life in Boston during the early nineteenth century.

An early step in this research was to locate copies of the musical instructors and other related materials. Of all

the pedagogical works, only the second edition of Graupner's piano instructor, Rudiments of the Art of Playing on the Pianoforte, published in 1819, is readily available on microfilm. The other works are less well known, and only single copies are located in various research libraries in the United States.

The seminal work on the life and accomplishments of Gottlieb Graupner is Musical Interludes in Boston (1943) published by H. Earle Johnson. In an appendix, Johnson listed all the known Graupner publications, including the instructional books which he had examined; however, the library location of only one of the texts is given in this work.

An indispensable tool in discovering the whereabouts of these works was Secular Music in America, 1801-1825: A Bibliography (Wolfe, 1964). This work was doubly useful because it not only listed the known works of a given American composer or compiler, but also indicated the library or private collection in which the music could be found. Unfortunately, not all of the instructional materials published by Graupner were included in the bibliography since it covered only the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century.

A second reference work, Resources of American Music History (Krummel, Geil, Dyen, & Root, 1981), was also helpful in the search for primary source material, because it listed

the special historic collections housed in music libraries in the United States. From these two sources it was discovered that there are copies of the pedagogical works, personal and business papers, and other biographical materials in five important libraries in the United States: the American Antiquarian Society Library in Worcester, Massachusetts; Boston Public Library; Brown University Library; Library of Congress; and the Newberry Library in Chicago.

The next step was to contact the individual libraries and secure copies of the texts and other materials for study. Since some of the texts were only available in very fragile form and not suitable for photocopying, this necessitated a trip to the Boston area to study the works. Analyzing Graupner's pedagogical works obviously was a major portion of this research effort. It was necessary to not only give a detailed listing of their contents, but also to place these works in their proper historical perspective. Haydon (1941) spoke of the important interrelationship between the systematic and historical facets of musicological research when analyzing music.

The understanding of a particular composition may be said to depend on a comprehension of what it is in itself and in relation to other similar and contrasting contemporary style-types. This is systematic knowledge. But it can scarcely be separated from the complementary knowledge, that of understanding this particular composition in its historical perspective. Thus we conceive of understanding as a knowledge of relations in a two-dimensional frame of reference. (p.8)

This "two-dimensional frame of reference" was the key in discussing the analyses of Graupner's pedagogical works. It was important to bring into focus the contents of these works as they related to their historical setting.

Treitler (1982) also discussed this historical perspective approach to music research and its benefits:

There is a causal, positivist sense in which music is understood as a precipitate of its context. And there is a hermeneutic sense, in which it is viewed as a meaningful item within a wider context of practices, conventions, assumptions, transmissions, receptions--in short a musical culture, which serves to endow its constituent aspects with meaning while attaining its own meaning from the combination of its constituents. . . . From this perspective analysis must be a central activity of the historian. The most engaged and engaging writing about music of the past nowadays tends increasingly toward a comprehensive understanding. (p. 69)

Limitations

As with all research, this study has its limitations. Because there were conflicting accounts as to the locations of several of Graupner's instructional books, and because several of them appeared in multiple editions, it was not possible to locate copies of all the various editions. For example, Graupner's New Instructor for the Clarinet (1811) was cited in Johnson (1943) as being housed in the Library of Congress; however, no such copy can be presently found there or in any other library. Thus, the researcher was left simply with Johnson's three-line description of the work. Every effort

was made to study all available materials and to document those which could not be presently located.

Organization of the Study

This study is presented in five chapters. The first chapter contains the introductory material: the need for and purposes of the study, research questions, a discussion of methodology, the limitations of the research, and its organization. Chapter 2 is a review of the related literature. Chapter 3 presents background information concerning the life of Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner and his activities in music performance, publishing, and teaching in the Boston area. The fourth chapter contains an analysis of the pedagogical works compiled and published by Graupner, while the fifth consists of the study's summary, conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

A survey of the literature concerning music and musical instruction in America during the early part of the nineteenth century yielded some interesting findings. It was necessary to review several different areas to gain a clearer perspective on the amount of information currently available on Gottlieb Graupner and his pedagogical works.

This literature review includes a survey of general histories of American music; histories of musical development in New England, and more specifically, Boston; discussions of early music publishing efforts in and around Boston; bibliographies of musical instructional materials from the early nineteenth century, as well as studies which trace the development of music pedagogy or instructional materials.

Graupner was mentioned in all the major surveys of American music. However, despite the fact that some lofty plaudits were bestowed on him, such as the "Father of American Orchestral Music" (Howard, 1965, p. 130), the organizer of Boston's Handel and Haydn Society (Hitchcock, 1988, p. 39), and the "man who assumed the dominant position in the musical life in Boston" (Chase, 1987, p. 107), he received relatively little attention in any of these works.

Each presented a brief biographical sketch, which basically discussed Graupner's German heritage and the founding of the Philharmonic Society as well as the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. Chase also mentioned that Graupner's Rudiments of the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte appeared in 1806 and was reissued in 1819, 1825, and 1827, but he did not mention the other instructional works. Howard accurately stated that "he was a pioneer in compiling educational works for the piano forte" (p. 131), but he gave the date of Rudiments as 1819 (the date of the second edition), instead of 1806. Hitchcock accurately reported the date of the beginning of the Philharmonic Society as 1809, whereas the other two listed 1810, but he gave no mention of the Graupner's activities as a teacher or of his pedagogical works.

Even less information was given about Graupner in other general texts on the history of American music (Hamm, 1983; Lowens, 1964; Ritter 1890/1972). In these works, Graupner was either completely ignored or given only cursory consideration.

As might be expected, Graupner was given considerably more attention in books and collections which focused specifically on musical development in New England and Boston. An article by John S. Dwight in The Memorial History of Boston (1881) traced the development of music in that city. In this work Graupner was described as "the first important teacher here of the piano-forte and music generally," (p. 415) but his pedagogical works were not mentioned.

Likewise, works such as Notes on Music in Old Boston (Fisher, 1918/1976) and Olden-time Music (Brooks, 1888/1973) generally discussed the musical performances of the day, and Graupner was mentioned only in connection with his appearances in concerts and benefits. Broyles (1991) focused his attention on class structure in Boston and its affect on the music institutions and the development of music there. Although he provided some very interesting background information into the part Graupner played in developing the Philharmonic and Handel and Haydn Societies, he did not explore the role of Graupner's private music instruction in the historical development of the area.

Most of the biographical information on Graupner in all these sources was derived from an unpublished manuscript housed in the Boston Public Library. This work is a detailed account of the life of Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner and his first wife, Catherine. It was written and donated to the library by their granddaughter, Catherine Graupner Stone in 1906. She compiled a thorough family record of dates and the activities of her musical ancestors, which have been used extensively by subsequent historians in their writings about Graupner.

The most thorough discussion of both the Graupners' lives and their musical activities as well as the whole musical scene in Boston in the early nineteenth century was compiled by H. Earle Johnson in his Musical Interludes in Boston, 1795-

1830 (1943). In this work, he presented a detailed description of the background of Boston social life, the musical organizations active during this time, the most important musical "personalities" of the day (the Von Hagen family, Dr. George K. Jackson, and the Graupners), and the musical business enterprises in the city. The latter included music publishers, manufacturers of musical instruments, merchants who sold music and instruments, and music teachers.

Especially important to the current study is Appendix III of Johnson's book in which he included a catalogue of Graupner publications along with specific publication information. Included in the lists of larger works published by Graupner were his five instructors: Rudiments of the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte, which appeared in two editions (with two subsequent printings with minor revisions); New Instructor for the Clarinet; G. Graupner's Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet; G. Graupner's Complete Preceptor for the German Flute; and A New Preceptor for the German Flute. Johnson cited the then privately owned collection of Mr. J. Francis Driscoll as the primary source for Graupner imprints. He also mentioned that a copy of New Instructor for the Clarinet was located in the Library of Congress.

The descriptions of the five instructors included general information from each one's title page, such as the copyright date and exact title. Johnson also gave a one- or two-sentence description of the contents of each work and the

total number of pages. This listing is still the most informative source on Graupner's pedagogical works, and yet it presented only a skeletal description of the works themselves. Intended only as a catalog of Graupner's publishing activities, it did not purport to be an exhaustive analysis.

A very thorough discussion of musical activities in New England during the early decades of the nineteenth century was also presented in James Thompson's Music in New England, 1800-1838 (1962/1963). Thompson described not only the sacred and secular musical offerings of the time, but also the early American efforts in musical journalism, publishing, and private music instruction.

One of Thompson's stated goals was to show the developments in American musical activity which led to the introduction of music into the public school curriculum in Boston in 1838. To this end, he discussed the role of private music instruction in this society, explaining general developments. He also gave a "classified tabulation of some of the instruction books published in New England between 1800 and 1838," but admitted, "The list is representative, and makes no pretense at completeness" (p. 513). Thompson's list included the same five instructors that were given in Johnson's research.

Discussions of early music publishing in and around Boston were another source of information for this research. Here again, however, the authors did not always give accurate

or detailed facts. In one source, Graupner was described as "a pioneer in compiling educational works for the pianoforte" (Ayars, 1937, p. 10), yet the author inaccurately cited 1819, instead of 1806, as the first publishing date of Graupner's Rudiments.

One author did, however, supply some new and interesting material. In Early American Music Engraving and Printing (Wolfe, 1980), the author presented an in-depth discussion of the music publishing activities in that time. His research unearthed a sixth instructor compiled by Graupner. Through a study of the probate court records of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Wolfe discovered that the estate of Gottlieb Graupner included 45 engraving plates for an instructional book for the double bass. He hypothesized that since no copies of this work had been found, it probably was never printed, and the plates were melted down in 1836 or 1837 after Graupner's death.

Another work by the same author, proved to be just as informative. In Secular Music in America 1801-1825: A Bibliography (1964), Wolfe presented a list of all the Graupner pedagogical works published in the first quarter of the century. He gave a brief synopsis of each work's contents and the number of pages, as well as title page information. Most importantly, Wolfe cited the private and public libraries in America which housed copies of the works. Since this work was compiled 25 years after Johnson's catalog of Graupner's

works, it obviously had more current information on the location of copies of the music.

The one obvious limitation to this information is that not all of Graupner's works were listed since they do not fall within the boundaries of the years included in Wolfe's bibliography. For this reason, Complete Preceptor for the Flute (c. 1825) and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet (1826) were not included.

Also, as in the Johnson work mentioned earlier, the information given was skeletal. As a bibliography, the concentration was on publishing information, such as the exact titles, years of publication, and copyright, rather than on the contents or type of instructional material.

The literature search for this topic also included works which deal with music instruction in early American life. Unfortunately, most of the available resources on this topic tend to focus primarily on the history of music education only as it developed in the singing schools of New England and then later in the public school system. Private music instruction was not treated, and therefore, teachers such as Graupner were not mentioned (Keene, 1982; Sundermann, 1971).

This oversight seems especially ironic in light of the fact that the foundations of the history of music education are deeply rooted in private music instruction. It is clear that without the pioneering music education work of people such as Gottlieb Graupner, the later (and much more well-

known) music education accomplishments of Lowell Mason and his followers would not have been possible.

Graupner generally fared no better in studies of pedagogical developments. For example, though several works included information on the historical evolution of piano pedagogy, they tended to exclusively deal with the literature produced in Europe (Bashaw, 1980; Weitzmann, 1897/1969). Since all of Graupner's works were published in America, none of them were discussed or listed in these sources either.

A few studies in the history of piano pedagogy did mention Graupner. In one, Keyboard Music in the Colonies and the United States of America Before 1830 (Wolverton, 1966/1967), the author discussed the role that keyboard music played in the cultural life of early America. He included in this study works by both native Americans and immigrants.

Graupner was accorded a brief biographical sketch along with a listing of a single keyboard work and the first two editions of Rudiments of the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte. There was, however, no information about the contents of the books.

Rosenblum (1974), in a study of Clementi's Introduction to the Art of Playing the Piano Forte (1801), found that this work had "an unmistakable influence on several French, English, and American methods" (p. ix). One of these was Graupner's Rudiments. In comparing Clementi's work with Graupner's, Rosenblum found that "many pages of text[,]

including the important sections on style and ornaments and one-third of the lessons, are taken verbatim from Clementi" (p. ix).

In The Dawning of American Keyboard Music, J. Bunker Clark (1988) also presented a wealth of information on the piano instructional materials that were available to Americans in the early years of our history. He included all such works in use in America at the time, both those by foreign writers such as Clementi and Dussek as well as those compiled by native and immigrant Americans.

Clark gave an outline of the contents of the two editions of Rudiments as well as a specific listing of the changes between the first and second editions. Clark also charged Graupner with the "wholesale" (p. 294) copying of sections of both Clementi's and Dussek's instructors, while at the same time admitting that "his (and Clementi's) Rudiments represents a significant advance in thoroughness and technique, over a period of more than two decades. Anyone who mastered the contents certainly rose above the level of the mere dilettante" (p. 296).²

²The issue of plagiarism (which will be discussed more thoroughly later) deserves some mention at this point. It has been well documented that much of what was published in early American newspapers and periodicals was often taken directly from previously published materials, often without any credit given to the original author (Wunderlich, 1962/1963). For example John Rowe Parker's Euterpeiad, an early American musical periodical, reprinted large excerpts of Burney's history of music for American consumption. This practice, while unacceptable and illegal today, was in the nineteenth century a common and accepted practice.

Graupner's instructors for wind instruments received even less attention than his keyboard tutors. The four works for woodwinds were listed in Warner's An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600-1830 (1967), but here the data were limited to publishing information and locations of extant copies, as one would expect in a bibliography. It contained no information concerning the contents of these instructional materials.

The review of the related literature suggested that although there had been some attention given to the life of Gottlieb Graupner and the role that he played in helping to develop the art of music in Boston during the early part of the nineteenth century, there was only skeletal information available on his pedagogical works. A study of these works was needed in order to provide a realistic picture of music instruction in Boston in the early part of the nineteenth century and the role of music in that society.

CHAPTER 3
THE LIFE OF JOHANN CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB GRAUPNER:
HIS ACTIVITIES AS MUSICIAN, PUBLISHER, AND TEACHER

The Early Years

Much of what is known of the early part of Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner's life has been gleaned from a biography written by his granddaughter, Catherine Graupner Stone. A copy of Mrs. Stone's typewritten work is located in the archives of the Boston Public Library. Through her study of family keepsakes, documents, papers, and newspaper clippings she was able to piece together a sketch of her grandfather's life. She donated a copy of her writing to the library in 1906 when she was living in California because, as her letter states, "the earthquake and fire in San Francisco last April, made one feel I would like to place copies of my manuscript as far away as possible from the Pacific Coast" (1906, Handwritten note attached to Stone's typewritten manuscript).

Another very helpful work which discussed the life of Graupner in the historical context of early nineteenth-century Boston is H.E. Johnson's Musical Interludes in Boston (1943). Although this research is almost 50 years old, it

still provided the most thorough background material on this subject.

Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner was born in the city of Verden in the province of Hanover, Germany, on October 6, 1767. According to the birth and baptismal records of St. John's Church and Garrison Congregation in Verden, which were procured by Mrs. Stone:

On the ninth of October Johann George Graubner, Hautboiss of the Regiment de la Motte, and his wife Anna Maria Agnesa born Schonhagen, brought their son for baptism who was born between two and three in the afternoon of the sixth of the same month, named Johann Christian Gottlieb. (cited in Stone, 1906, p. 3)

The child received his name from the three witnesses at his baptism: Johann Michael Dohberg, an oboist; Christian Heinrich Wilde, the gate-secretary; and Johann Gottlieb Bohloke, a surgeon. The family name given in this entry of the church records is "Graubner," but except for one other family entry in 1765, it was always listed as "Graupner."

Johann Christian Gottlieb's father, Johann George Graupner, was a trained oboist. He had studied with the city musician of the Royal City of Hannover from 1743 to 1748, and served as the oboist in the regiment of Colonel von Groten. On August 13, 1752, he married Anna Maria Agnesa Schonhagen and together they had eight children, the seventh of whom was Gottlieb. Johann Georg Graupner died, according to the church records, of consumption on March 26, 1787, at the age of 59 years, and his wife, Anna, followed him two years later, dying of the same disease.

The young Graupner followed in his father's musical footsteps. He, too, received a thorough musical education and was taught to play "upon every known musical instrument, although the double-bass and the oboe, (hautboy) were his favorite" (Stone, 1906, p. 5).

He also served in the military as had his father. A copy of his discharge papers in the possession of his descendants documents that on April 8, 1788, at the age of twenty and a half years old, he was honorably discharged from his duties as the oboist of the Seventh Royal Infantry stationed at the town and fortress of Hameln. Upon his discharge Graupner bought the oboe which he had used during his military service. It would become a very important part of his civilian life as well.

Three years after his discharge, according to John Sullivan Dwight, Graupner was in London, England, performing with Haydn "when the great master brought out the twelve famous Symphonies in Salomon's concerts (1791-92)" (Perkins & Dwight, 1883-1893/1977, p. 416).³

Although there is no surviving record of the actual performers at these concerts, it is reasonable to assume that Graupner was a member of Haydn's orchestra for several

³Dwight seems to imply here that all twelve of the London symphonies were performed during the 1791-92 season. Only the first nine of the symphonies (No. 93-101) were performed for the Salomon concerts in 1791-92 and 1794-95. The last three received their first performances in 1795 at the Opera Concerts series.

reasons. The family history written by his granddaughter discussed Graupner's membership in the orchestra. Secondly, the musical training and experience Graupner had at the time would have qualified him for an orchestral seat. And finally, his later zealous commitment to the performance of Haydn in this country (often to the exclusion of more contemporary works) would also tend to support this conclusion.

Life in the New World

The next few years of Graupner's life are more difficult to document. Several sources claim that he emigrated from England to Prince Edward Island for a short period of time, but it is certain that by 1795 he had arrived in Charleston, South Carolina.

Graupner, like many other young musicians who lived in England such as Alexander Reinagle, James Hewitt, and George K. Jackson, was drawn to America by the promise of lucrative employment in the new country. By 1790, the date of the first census, America had a population of approximately 3.9 million. The young, developing nation presented many new opportunities for entrepreneurial musicians, as Loesser stated:

A "more perfect union" had been formed; moreover, the new government was promulgating a sound national currency to remedy the monetary uncertainty of the immediate past. Businessmen, speculators, and landlords--money-handlers generally--were happy. They were people who went to theaters and concerts, bought instruments, and had their daughters take lessons. (1954, p. 446)

Graupner became a member of the orchestra of the City Theatre on Church Street in Charleston. He must have made a favorable impression, for he was featured at the opening night of the new fall season on November 10, 1795, playing an unnamed concerto "between the play and the farce" (American Antiquarian Society, Columbian Herald, November 9, 1795). According to Sonneck (1907/1978), Graupner's first documented concert performance (as opposed to entr'acte theatre performance) was on March 21, 1796, when he played a "'Concerto on the Hautboy' by Fischer" as part of a "benefit concert for Mr. Petit and Mr. Villars" (p. 33).

It is interesting to note that the format of musical concerts was often quite different from what is familiar today. A concert, often called a benefit, might consist of several acts with various performers, singers, and instrumentalists presenting a program of disparate works.

Unfortunately for the music historian, the documentation of exactly what was performed is often sketchy at best. Copies of programs from this era often omit the composers' names completely. An entry may simply say, for example, "A sonata by Miss Z," or "Concerto for Hautboy, by Mr. Graupner." It is clear that those named are the performers, not the composers, but it is curious that the composers are not given any credit for their work.

It was while playing in the City Theatre Orchestra that Gottlieb Graupner made the acquaintance of Mrs. Catherine

Comerford Hillier, a singer and a member of the theatre troupe during the 1795-96 season. Mrs. Hillier (also variously spelled Heelyer or Hellyer) was a native of England where she had performed on the stage. A widow with several children, she had come to America to pursue her acting career. She first joined a troupe in Boston at the Federal Street Theatre where she made her debut in December of 1794.

At the close of that season in June, 1795, the management of the theatre was almost bankrupt and the troupe of actors left for Charleston to seek greener economic pastures. Before she left Massachusetts, however, Mrs. "Hellyer" did appear "in a benefit concert at Washington Hall in Salem" in a performance which consisted of scenes from Romeo and Juliet, Venice Preserved, and other works. (Hehr, 1963/1964, p. 114).

It is, of course, entirely possible that Mr. Graupner and Mrs. Hillier had been acquaintances in London since both were active in theatre productions there. But it was in America, their new home, that they were to fall in love and marry. On Wednesday, April 6, 1796, they were wed in Charleston, South Carolina. Since the theatre productions were staged on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, the Wednesday wedding afforded them at least a one-day honeymoon. Mrs. Graupner, however, did not perform "on her wedding day" (Johnson, 1943, p. 171), but rather was back on stage the next evening as Melinda in The Recruiting Officer and Betty in The Irish Taylor (A.A.S., Columbian Herald, April 6, 1796).

In addition to her acting career, Catherine Graupner was also a singer. She performed vocal solos occasionally between the acts of plays. This is well documented in the newspaper advertisements of the day, which gave a complete account of the plays performed, the cast members involved, and the entr'acte entertainment.

The company traveled briefly to Norfolk and Portsmouth, Virginia, where the Graupners performed in a benefit concert on October 7, 1796. Catherine rendered the solo "Sweet Nightingale" with accompaniment provided by her husband on the oboe as well as "A Favorite Song" and a duet, "What is Love?" with Mr. Prigmore. Her husband showed his multiplicity of musical talents by performing a violin duet by Pleyel with Mr. Decker, as well as an unnamed oboe concerto and Fisher's Rondo with variations on the oboe (Sonneck, 1907/1978, p. 60).

The company returned to Charleston, but in the next theatre season, there is no mention of the Graupners on the Charleston stage. After Catherine sang in a concert for Mr. Edgar's benefit on September 21, they had headed north to the Boston area which would eventually become their home for the remainder of their lives.

Both Graupners are listed in the cast of performers for the 1796-1797 season of the Federal Street Theatre in Boston. In a compilation of the salaries for that period prepared by the theatre manager, they are listed as having received a

combined amount of "thirty dollars per week" (Alden, 1956, p. 32).

It does not appear, however, that the duo actually began working on the stage in Boston until January of 1797. The playbill for the evening of January 23 studied by Sonneck tells of the North American premiere of Gretry's Richard, Coeur de Lion, in which the part of Laurette was sung by Mrs. Graupner, "her first appearance in these two years" (Sonneck, 1915, p. 214).

During the summer of 1797, the Graupners appeared in Salem, Massachusetts, at Washington Hall with the theatre company. Here, Mrs. Graupner, once again accompanied by her husband on the oboe, entertained between the acts of plays with such sentimental favorites as "Sweet Echo" and "How d' ye do" (Sonneck, 1915, p. 160).

For a short time, Catherine Graupner continued with Solee's theatre company performing in Philadelphia and, for two nights, in New York, but by January of 1798, the Graupners had settled in Boston. Unfortunately, a fire which totally destroyed the theatre in February, left the acting troupe and its musicians without work.

Graupner was quick to rebound from this lost source of income, however, for by the next month he was already advertising his new business venture:

Mr. Graupner most respectfully offers his Services to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Boston, to teach Vocal and Instrumental Music. Having devoted his life to acquire knowledge in his profession he flatters himself with

giving entire satisfaction to those who honor him with their commands. He will wait on those who prefer taking lessons at their own houses, at such hours as may suit their convenience, or at his lodgings, at Mrs. Granger's, Orange-Tree Lane. Mr. Graupner also makes and repairs most kinds of musical instruments. (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, March 3, 10, and 17, 1798)

In a similar income-generating move, Catherine Graupner also advertised a concert that same month:

Mrs. Graupner most respectfully informs her friends and the public in general that on THIS evening the 14th March, will be presented for her benefit at Mr. Bowen's Hall, Under the Museum, a Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick [sic]. Tickets to be had at Mr. B. Russell's Office, One Dollar each. (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, March 14, 1798)

A year later, Gottlieb Graupner advertised a concert of music which he intended to present "as soon as the subscription is adequate to the expense." Obviously, not a shy man, he went on to declare the praises of this upcoming concert:

. . . from the very flattering remarks of approbation Mrs. Graupner's Concert was received last year, emboldens him to say, that it shall be one of the most brilliant performances ever produced in this town, as no pains or diligence shall be spared to make it so, and to render it worthy of their patronage. (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, April 17, 1799)

Tragedy struck the Graupners one month later, in May of 1799, when their home along with several others was destroyed in a fire. The following article appeared:

This morning about five minutes past two, a fire took in some out buildings in the vicinity of Newbury Street, which in the course of three hours consumed thirteen dwelling-houses. . . . Mr. Graupner, and others whose names we have not at this early period been able to ascertain, were occupants of Mr. Jarvis' buildings. . . . Mr. Jarvis' houses, we learn, were not insured, as reported. Many of the sufferers have claims on the

beneficence [sic] of the public. (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, May 11, 1799)

Fortunately, no one was killed in the blaze, but it did leave many of the families almost destitute. In an effort to raise money to replace some of their household goods, the Graupners advertised a concert for June 25, 1799, in Salem, Massachusetts at the Market Street Concert Hall.

One reader of the Salem Gazette, who simply signed himself "A. Citizen", responded to an ad for the concert with the following letter to the editor:

I observe that a CONCERT of MUSIC is advertised in your last paper, to be performed on this evening for the benefit of Mrs. Graupner. It is hoped that as the company expressed a great satisfaction for the last excellent Concert which was given by Mr. Graupner, they will receive no less pleasure from this. To render the entertainment more complete, we are informed there will be added to the other instruments an excellent Piano Forte. The beauties of the instrument will be displayed in the brilliant execution of Mrs. Von Hagan; whose taste and talents procured her, when in Holland, the admiration of the Court at the Hague, as they have since in America commanded the applause of all who have heard her perform.

To the claim which Mr. Graupner's abilities give him to the public patronage, his misfortune in being burnt out of his house by the late fire at Botlen, will, it is hoped, be duly considered by every humane mind. Those that attend this Concert, will have added to the enjoyment of music, the satisfaction resulting from aiding those who have suffered from a calamity which they themselves as inhabitants of a wooden town, are peculiarly exposed to. (A.A.S., Salem Gazette, June 25, 1799)

The program that evening consisted of performances by a variety of musically prominent friends of the Graupner family including Mr. and Mrs. von Hagen, Mr. Mallet, and Mr. Munto, as well as the Graupners themselves. The price of the tickets

was 75 cents, but there was no further record of the total monies collected.

One of the most persistent fables about the life of Gottlieb Graupner centers around a concert given on December 30, 1799 at the Federal Street Theatre in Boston. Because of an article written in Harper's New Monthly Magazine (L. Hutton, June, 1889) which credits Graupner as being the first musician to present a song in blackface, he has erroneously been credited as being the "father" of Negro minstrelsy by many music historians (Broder, 1956; Davis, 1982; Howard, 1965).

The article unfortunately relied more heavily on hearsay than on hard evidence. It quoted a Mr. Charles White, "an old Ethiopian comedian and manager" (p. 133) as having given the credit to Mr. Graupner for this performance in blackface, based upon his reading of an article in the Boston Gazette of December 30, 1799, which published the program of the performance:

At the end of the second act of Oroonoko, according to Mr. White, Mr. Graupner, in character, sang "The Gay Negro Boy," accompanying the air with the banjo; and although the house was draped in mourning for General Washington, such was the enthusiasm of the audience that the performer had to bring his little bench from the wings again and again to sing his song. (Hutton, 1889, p. 134)

This apocryphal story has been discredited, however, by researchers who have taken the time to study the actual program from the December 30, 1799 edition of the Boston Gazette (A.A.S., at that time officially entitled J. Russell's

Gazette). The number in question, "The Song of the Negro Boy," was sung that evening, not by Mr. Graupner, but by his wife, Catherine. No mention is made of any accompaniment on the banjo, nor of any blackface presentation.

As Johnson (1943) pointed out, the text of the song is sung from the point of view of a white person, so that the use of blackface would have been out of character, and thus inappropriate. The story of this performance seems to have mainly persisted as one historian accepted it from the writings of another down through the ages without checking the sources.

The Graupners continued to appear in concerts throughout the Boston area for almost 20 years. Catherine took time out from the stage, however, to bear and raise their eight children.

What is known about these children mainly comes from the family history written by Mrs. Stone (1906). The eight children were: Catherine Comerford Graupner Cushing (April, 1799?-October 10, 1888), who served as the organist at Boston's Stone Chapel and was a rehearsal accompanist for the Handel and Haydn Society; Charles William Gottlieb Graupner (b. 1800-December 2, 1824), a fine violinist who performed with his father in the Philharmonic Society; Samuel John George Graupner (b. February 13, 1803 and died in infancy); Samuel Smith Graupner (b. August 25, 1805 and died in Valparaiso, Chile, date unknown); Frederick Graupner (no dates

given), who died in infancy; John Henry Howard Graupner (June 17, 1810- December 4, 1886), the father of Catherine Graupner Stone, whom she describes as "an excellent pianist, who under the instruction of his father, from the age of ten to fourteen, he practiced four hours a day, including holidays" (p. 25); Frederick Lewis Graupner (December 8, 1811-February 24, 1842), who "followed the sea and died unmarried" (p. 25); and Charlotte Elizabeth Rowson Graupner (December 26, 1813-December 17, 1886), who remained unmarried and gave private piano instruction in Fairhaven and New Bedford, Massachusetts.

In 1807, during the week of his fortieth birthday, Gottlieb Graupner became a naturalized citizen of the United States of America. The certificate commemorating this event is quoted by his granddaughter in her manuscript:

Know ye, that at the Court of Common Pleas held at Boston within and for the County of Suffolk on the first Tuesday of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven.

Gottlieb Graupner of said Boston, Musician, was admitted to become a citizen of the United States of America according to the Acts of Congress in such case made and provided.

In Testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed t he seal of said Court this fifteenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand, eight hundred and eight, and in the thirty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America.

Chas. Cushing Clerk. (cited in Stone, 1906, p.14)

Boston Society at the Turn of the Century

In the year 1800, the United States was beginning to come into its own as an independent nation. With several wars

behind her, the young country was able to focus on commerce, industry, trade, and expansion. This also was the year of the election of Thomas Jefferson to the presidency, the man who would oversee the Louisiana Purchase, an acquisition which doubled the size of the nation and provided even greater opportunities for development to its people.

In 1800, Boston was a city of approximately 25,000 people, not a metropolis by any modern comparison, but still one of the largest, most prominent, and established cities of the new federation. Here, due to the rise of commerce, there was also developing an ever-growing group of merchants who were, for the first time, enjoying an economic "boom."

The middle class used part of their new found wealth to provide for their families some of the cultural amenities of life, which had been considered luxuries only a generation or two before. Families sent their children to academies to learn drawing, painting, and foreign languages. They hired teachers and tutors to instruct their offspring in the "finer" things in life, including music, which was seen as very important in the development of young people.

In the 1790s academies were opened to girls as well as boys, although the two were rigidly segregated and the female curriculum was considered to be "much less demanding" (Nye, 1960, p. 169). It included such things as music, drawing, painting, light reading, English, and French.

This interest in the education of young people was not so much to widen their horizons and encourage their development, but rather to mold them into accepting an aesthetic model of good taste and developing a sense of the "beautiful."

Young women especially were encouraged in the development of some degree of musical ability in order to show their correct upbringing. This was an inherited European standard which had carried over to the new nation. Women were to learn to play the piano and sing as a means of entertainment for their family and friends, but very few were encouraged to aspire to public performance as an occupation. In fact, to some the history of the development of the pianoforte and the social status of women are inextricably woven together:

In eighteenth and nineteenth-century England, as well as in the rest of Europe, young feminine genteel idleness was mostly filled with a number of trivial occupations superficially related to the fine arts: they were known as 'accomplishments'. . . . Music was, indeed, one of the most important of the young ladylike 'accomplishments;' it was a favorite because it could be shown off while actually being accomplished. (Loesser, 1954, p. 269-270)

This interest in music and in playing the piano naturally provided many opportunities for those who offered their skills as teachers, instrument makers, and publishers and sellers of music. There was now a whole new market for their services and products.

The Music Academy and Teaching Responsibilities

So it was that in November of 1800, Gottlieb Graupner, together with Francis Mallet and Filippo Trajetta, opened

together in Boston, a Conservatory, or Music Academy, which was advertised in this grand and elegant manner:

Music being almost an insperable [sic] branch of a finished education, one of the most useful and agreeable arts, is as an interpreter of the finer feelings;) a necessary one.

In support of what is just advanced, the truth may be adduced from time the most remote, and amongst all nations, the most savage not excepted, Music has been known and cultivated. Besides which, its agreeable utility has been so repeatedly demonstrated by celebrated and good men, that all those who may have it in their power, must with their children instructed in an art of such general use, and which affords so copious a resource of rational pleasure. In prosperity our moments of enjoyment are heightened by Music: In adversity, it dissipates the gloom of care, mollifies the frowns of fortune, and when obliged to seek a foreign asylum, smooths [sic] the unequal paths, becomes our interpreter among a strange people and our conductor to amiable society; but a motive of still greater consideration presents itself, that of addressing the Supreme Being in melodious accents. These motives gave existence [sic] to the many Musical Academies established in all Europe, which have been raised to the highest degree of perfection.

Messrs. Mallet, Graupner, and Trieta [sic], have jointly agreed, wishing to be useful to this metropolis, and sensible that many will be able (by this way) to satisfy their wishes in accomplishing the education of their children, intend to open a new Institution (for this country), but on the same foundation of the best Conservatories of Europe, where the order, and the progress of their pupils shall be their principal rule. (A.A.S., Boston Gazette, November 24, 1800)

The conservatory was established on Rowe's Lane, and according to newspaper advertisements which appeared the next few months it seems to have done very well. One paper advertised the addition of a "circulating library" (A.A.S., The Mercury and New England Palladium, February 3, 1801), and in another the trio explained that they were "obliged to open a second school for young ladies, and to alter the time of

instruction for young Gentlemen" to accommodate the influx of patrons. Here also for the first time they advertised for sale "several excellent piano fortes, violin strings, etc." (A.A.S., Boston Gazette, June 1, 1801).

However, by November of 1801, one year after the founding of their academy, Trajetta had left the business, and Mallet and Graupner had expanded the scope of their business, advertising a much wider array of musical instruments for sale, including "grand pianofortes, double-action harpsichords, and the best English guitars," as well as American pianofortes manufactured by Benjamin Crehore which they "warranted for six months" (A.A.S., Boston Gazette, November 23, 1801) possibly in an effort to get the Bostonians to buy American products rather than the more highly respected European models.

Evidently the Conservatory partnership arrangement was not an agreeable one, for in November, 1802, it was dissolved. Both of the men, however, continued teaching independently. Mr. Mallet moved to Congress Street and Mr. Graupner to No. 6 Franklin Street where he combined his teaching business with music publishing and the sale of music and musical instruments.

Despite the dissolution of his partnership with Mallet and Trajetta, Graupner continued to teach throughout his life. Although there is no record of the number of his students, some sources give an idea of his influence in the teaching of

music. One of his students was the famous, blind organist and composer, Oliver Shaw, of Rhode Island. A biography of Shaw (Williams, 1851) stated that he "went to Boston to pursue the practice and study of music with a German teacher whose name was Gottlieve Groupner [sic]. With him he continued the study and practice of music on the piano and organ" (p. 11-12).

Graupner also taught in some of the private schools in the Boston area, the most famous of which was one for young ladies run by Susanna Rowson. Rowson was one of the most popular authors of her time, and she and her husband became very close friends of the Graupners over the years. Since music was considered to be an essential part of any young woman's education, it was a highly valued part of the curriculum and its teachers were highly regarded as well.

Music Publishing

In the spring of 1802, the firm of Mallet and Graupner enlarged the scope of their music business by including a "Printing Office for the correct and elegant execution of all kinds of Music" (A.A.S., Boston Gazette, March 29, 1802). included in their first offerings from their press were the very popular "Battle of Prague" and a few selected songs. Approximately twenty works of music were published under the Mallet and Graupner name in 1802.

The business partnership, as was mentioned, lasted only until November of that year, but Graupner continued in music

publishing. For the next twenty years, he was the major, and at times the only, music publisher in the city of Boston. He issued music from his "Music Academy," sometimes referred to as "Repository" from 1803 to 1807, and then used the terminology "Music Store" from 1807 until 1817 when his publishing business declined. Graupner continued to publish music on a lesser scale into the late 1820s. He was undoubtedly the most productive of the early Boston music publishers, issuing over 400 items.

Included in these works are many of the popular sheet music ballads of the day as well as the equally fashionable patriotic songs. The title pages of the music often included information about where the songs were premiered in Boston and by whom: "A Soldier to His Own Fireside," sung by Mrs. Jones at the Federal Street Theatre in The Wife of Two Husbands, published in 1805. Johnson (1943) provided a complete listing of 420 works of this type published by Graupner with the pertinent publication information.

Although, not remembered for his composing, Graupner did publish two of his own works including a song entitled, "The Attic Bower" (1802) and a work for piano and flute or violin, "Governor Brooks Favourite Scotch March" (1820).

Throughout his publishing career, Graupner also showed a great interest in compiling and printing larger collections of works. These include The Musical Magazine, published in 1803; The Monitor, or Celestial Melody, 1806; The Anacreontic

Vocalist, 1809; and A Collection of Country Dances and Cotillions, 1821; as well as his instructional books for pianoforte, flute, and clarinet. Because these four large collections are no longer easily obtained, the following succinct descriptions of them are gleaned from Johnson's research (1943).

The first three works are collections of vocal works. The Musical Magazine was published in three volumes each selling for two dollars and ten cents. Each contained vocal selections mainly from the popular ballad operas of the day by composers such as Arnold, Shield, and Hook. Many of the works had been previously published separately by Graupner. Volume III does contain his own "Attic Bower" (without attribution) as well as a song by Haydn. All three volumes were offered for sale in the April 4, 1803 edition of the Boston Gazette. (A.A.S.)

In January, 1806, Graupner announced the publication of the Monitor, or Celestial Melody (A.A.S., Boston Gazette, January 16, 1806). This work was a collection of sacred works, psalm and hymn tunes "taken from a celebrated work lately published in London" and was offered in installments to subscribers for 50 cents, and to nonsubscribers for 75 cents. Each issue contained music for four voices and organ suitable for worship services. The complete collection comprised 95 pages.

The Anacreontic Vocalist was a collection of glees, catches, canons, duets, and rounds mainly by English composers such as Byrd, Purcell, Playford, and Arne. The books were advertised as early as January 21, 1809, but were not ready for public sale until June 30 of that year. They sold for one dollar and fifty cents for subscribers and two dollars for nonsubscribers.

The fourth large collection published by Graupner was entitled, A Collection of Country Dances and Cotillions and as the title implies contained short works to accompany dancing. The four volumes were very popular since dancing schools abounded in the Boston area at this time. Graupner was certainly a shrewd businessman as well as a musician who accurately perceived the market for music in that city.

The remaining collections published by Graupner were his preceptors, or instructional books. These too, had their place in the market, as there was increasing interest in learning to play a musical instrument. Acquiring this ability was seen as an important step in the process of becoming "cultured."

The earliest of these instructional works was Graupner's Rudiments of the Art of Playing on the Pianoforte which appeared first in April, 1806 with a second, slightly revised printing in 1808. This was followed by a second edition of the work in May, 1819 with subsequent reprintings in 1825 and 1827. The other four were woodwind instructors, two for the

clarinet and two for the flute: New Instructor for the Clarinet (dated by Johnson (1943) as 1811); Gottlieb Graupner's Complete Preceptor for the German Flute (c. 1825); Gottlieb Graupner's Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet (1826); and A New Preceptor for the German Flute (c. 1807). Since these works form the basis for the next chapter, a discussion of their contents will be presented there.

The Philharmonic Society

In addition to his commitments as teacher and publisher during these years, Graupner continued to perform as well. In one such performance he and Catherine joined forces with Signior Convoglio and Francis Mallet on Friday, September 23, 1808. Mrs. Graupner sang "Softly waft ye southern breezes," by Hook and "Aid me, Venus" by Shield both accompanied by her husband on the oboe. Catherine also participated in several duets with other members of the cast and a trio with her daughter Olivia and Mr. Mallet (A.A.S., The Repertory, September 23, 1808).

The following year, Graupner and a small band of musicians and amateurs organized themselves into a society which would become a milestone in American musical history--the first permanent orchestra in the United States. This group, known as the Philharmonic, Philoharmonic, or Philharmonica Society, met regularly to perform orchestral works,

at first simply for their own edification and entertainment, and later on, for an ever-widening Boston audience.

The exact date of the inaugural meeting of the Philharmonic Society is not known, but on October 4, 1809, there was a call for the meeting of "the members of the Philoharmonica Society. . . at the Society Room Franklin-street, on Saturday Evening next. By order of the President" (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, October 4, 1809). Obviously, some ground work had been already laid before this announcement which was signed by the secretary, Samuel Stockwell. Officers had been elected and a place secured for meeting, but there does not appear to be any documentation for these earlier events.⁴

The small orchestra was comprised of both the professional and amateur musicians of Boston and met regularly for almost twenty years before disbanding. Although the membership of the performers in the group fluctuated from season to season, Gottlieb Graupner was the undisputable

⁴As reported by Broyles (1991), some researchers have purported that the Philharmonic Society may have been in existence as early as 1797 when Graupner arrived in Boston, or at least since 1799 when a call for a meeting of a "Philharmonic Society" was announced in the April 6, 1799 edition of the Columbian Centinel by the secretary, W.H. M'Neill. Since there was no further public mention of a group with this name until the 1809 meeting, other researchers (Johnson, 1943) have come to the conclusion that the 1799 reference was for a similar group whose existence was short-lived, and that Graupner's Philharmonic Society came into existence during the 1809-1810 concert season.

leader of the group throughout its existence. Some idea of the makeup of the group is given in this recollection:

The orchestra of perhaps sixteen musicians was led by Mr. Graupner with his double bass. The violins were M. Granger, Amasa Warren, Mr. Dixon the English consul, and M. Eustaphie, Russian consul; clarinet, Granger, sen.; bassoon, Simon Wood; trumpet, William Rowson; flute, George Cushing; French horn, tympani, and bass-viol (cello). (Perkins & Dwight, 1883-1893/1977, p. 34n)

Obviously, the composition of the group changed from season to season as talent was available. The performers were both professional musicians and amateurs in the Boston community. Other members over the years, according to Johnson (1943), included such people as Louis Ostinelli, violin; Simeon Wood, bassoon; G. Pollock, flute; Henry Niebuhr and S. Wetherbee, horns; W. Bennett and A. Passage, violins or violas. Sophia Hewitt and Catherine Graupner, two well-known female performers in Boston, are also listed among the names of the members of the Philharmonic Society. Musicians visiting Boston were also invited to sit in with the group for their regular Saturday rehearsals. Anthony Philip Heinrich, the noted American composer, for example, arrived in Boston in May of 1823, and was undoubtedly invited to play with the group as well as in the Handel and Haydn Society orchestra. Altogether, there were probably between twelve and twenty performers at any given meeting of the society.

Alongside the performers in the Society were also some non-performing members who evidently took care of business while enjoying the company and performances of their musical

friends. These included William Coffin, who served as secretary of the group for many years, Eben Frothingham, Matthew S. Parker, Allan Pollock, John Dodd, and Chester Stebbins.

Members could renew their association with the Philharmonic Society each season. The first meeting each year took place on the first Saturday in October and thereafter weekly (although occasionally fortnightly) until sometime in April. The group met at several locations, most often at the Pythian-Hall on Pond Street, Boylston Hall, or at Graupner's Music Store on Franklin Street. At some point in the group's development, entry to the meetings evidently was handled through tickets given to the society's members. Although the time of meeting was usually set at 7 p.m., an exception to this was noted in the following advertisement which reminds the reader that little has changed over the years concerning the timely arrival of audiences:

The performances to commence at six o'clock. Gentlemen are requested to be punctual in their attendance, that no interruption may take place after the music is begun. (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, January 28, 1815)

The importance of Graupner's role in the founding of this society cannot be overestimated. He had both the experience and the background requisite for such an undertaking. His days of playing in the Salomon concerts under Haydn certainly speak to his musicianship and knowledge of the standard repertoire. H. Earle Johnson (1943), Graupner scholar, has

stated emphatically that the existence of the Philharmonic society rested in the capabilities of Graupner.

It is conceivable that the extensive business of publishing and selling music might have been undertaken by others, that the Handel and Haydn Society would have been formed without the participation of Graupner, that the music of the Federal Street Theatre might have pleased the patrons without the sound of his oboe or double bass, and that other musicians would have carried on his teaching employment by individuals and academies; by no means, however, could the Philharmonic Orchestra have found a leader possessed of the inner fire, the outward patience, and the practical wisdom for carrying on a career so useful to the awakening musical intelligence of Boston's populace. (p. 120-121)

During the early years of the society's existence, little is known of exactly what music the group performed since the meetings were open only to the members of the group (both performing and non-performing). According to Broyles (1991), "The distinction between rehearsals and concerts was thus a subtle one" (p. 457).

From 1815 onward, however, there is more information about what the group performed. High on the list were the symphonies of Haydn (especially the "Surprise"), Pleyel's La Chasse Symphony, and Overture to Lodoiska by Kreutzer. Also included were works of lesser-known composers such as Gelinek and Viotti.

The performances also, however, included on at least two occasions works of Beethoven: his unidentified "Minuetto--Full Orchestra" (from a program published in the A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, September 19, 1818) and "the celebrated Grand Sonata, for the Pianoforte, with the funeral march"

(A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, February 27, 1819) which was performed most likely by Sophia Hewitt, a member of the society and an accomplished pianist. Although these are not the earliest documented performances of Beethoven's works in this country, their inclusion in the repertoire of the group certainly underscores the fact that the Philharmonic Society was interested in more than just the works of Haydn and Pleyel.

The esteem in which this group was held by the members of the Boston musical community is shown in an several articles written by newspaper entrepreneur, John Rowe Parker:

Until the formation of the Philo-harmonic for instrumental, and the Institution of the Handel and Haydn Societies, for vocal performances; regular concerts have never succeeded in this metropolis, and although there existed other causes of failure, beside the want of knowledge of music, yet this last is clearly the reason why patronage has been so sparingly bestowed on professors. The exertions of those Societies have, of late years, encouraged eminent performers to visit us. The flattering encouragement they have met with, has furnished opportunities for the display of talent among ourselves, to which we might otherways [sic] have been ignorant that we possessed. (Euterpeiad, April 8, 1820)

The cultivation of Instrumental music in this metropolis by the Philo Harmonic Society has been productive of the most beneficial consequences. The reorganization of this useful and necessary institution, merits the applause of every Amateur, and marks a growing taste for refinement in one of the branches of polite education. (Euterpeiad, October 7, 1820)

The Philharmonic Society met regularly from 1809 until 1828, however, during the last few years the group was not performing as regularly as they had between 1814 and 1824. The last performance date commonly given for the Philharmonic

Society is November 24, 1824, however, that seems highly unlikely since season tickets were advertised for sale the following week in the Columbian Centinel (A.A.S., November 27, 1824). There are notices for the annual meetings on the first Saturday in October for the years 1826-1828, but none for 1829 or after (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, October 7, 1826; October 6, 1827; October 4, 1828).

It is true that after the close of the 1822-23 season, Louis Ostinelli and his wife Sophia Hewitt moved to Maine. It would have been tremendously difficult to fill the void created by the departure of these two excellent musicians. Johnson (1943) states that Mr. Dixon, the British consul, and John Henry Howard Graupner, the conductor's son, joined the group at this time, but neither was "sufficiently talented to hide the need of another performer the rank of the eminent Louis Ostinelli" (p. 151). Since John Henry would have been a mere 13 years old at the time, this seems rather self-evident.

It is possible that Charles William Graupner, John's older brother, was a member of the Philharmonic Society at this time as well. He is described by his niece, Catherine Stone (1906), as a "fine violinist" (p. 24) and would have been 23 years old at the time and more suited to membership in the group than his younger brother. Unfortunately, Charles lived only until December 2, 1824. The cause of his death was listed as consumption.

This family loss had been preceded in June, 1821, by the death of Catherine Graupner, Gottlieb's beloved wife. These two catastrophes in the life of the conductor of the Philharmonic Society, undoubtedly took their toll on the amount of energy he was able to commit to the group, and may have contributed greatly to its final demise.

It is obvious that the death of Catherine was a loss to the entire Boston musical community. A touching tribute was paid to her in the pages of John Rowe Parker's newspaper:

It is not within our original design to notice the demise of any individual. We are however constrained to remark, that the usefulness and talents of one who has filled so conspicuous a station in the musical world, demands a record of those services which have on all occasions contributed so essentially to endear her memory to a very numerous and much extended acquaintance.

Mrs. Catharine [sic] Graupner for many years was the only female vocalist this metropolis possessed. Of the deceased, it may be truly said, her urbanity of manners, obliging and hospitable disposition, was a general theme of observation. . . .

Her friends, and the musical part of the community in particular, whom she has so often charmed with her earthly song, hope, she is now imploring with heavenly fervour.

"Angels ever bright and fair

To take, take her to their care."

Where, "The bright Seraphims in burning row

Their uplifted Trumpets blow;

And where the Cherubic host, in tuneful choirs

Touch their immortal harps with golden wires."

(Euterpeiad, June 9, 1821)

The Formation of the Handel and Haydn Society

For many years, the members of the Philharmonic Society worked closely with the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston in the promotion of music. The formation of the Handel and Haydn

Society, however, actually came about as a brain-child of several of the members of the former group. In the history of the society is preserved a letter of George Cushing, Graupner's son-in-law:

I was a member of the Philharmonic Society, which was got up by a number of amateurs for the performance of vocal and instrumental music, principally the latter. In the intervals of the performances, the low state of church music was a frequent subject of conversation. On one of these occasions, a group of four or five happening to meet, the subject was renewed, when your humble servant, who was one of them, remarked that it was useless to talk [italicized] anymore about it, but that we had better proceed to action by having a meeting called of such as felt an interest in the subject. This being at once assented to, a meeting was shortly after held in Mr. Graupner's Music Hall, which resulted in the formation of the Handel and Haydn Society. The names of the persons just referred to, as far as I can recollect, were as follows: G. Graupner, Augustus Peabody (counsellor-at-law), Matthew S. Parker (cashier of the Suffolk Bank), John Dodd, and myself. (Letter of George Cushing to Rev. Luther Farnham, December, 1871, cited in Perkins & Dwight, 1883-1893/1977, p. 37)

Obviously there was interest in such a vocal society, for it took very little time before the group was functioning. The first meetings took place in March of 1815, and by April 13, a constitution for the new group was already drawn up. In the preamble to this document, the reader is given a clear idea of the intended purposes of the group:

While in our country almost every institution, political, civil, and moral, has advanced with rapid steps, while every other science and art is cultivated with a success flattering to its advocates, the admirers of music find their beloved science far from exciting the feelings or exercising the powers to which it is accustomed in the Old World. Too long have those to whom heaven has given a voice to perform and an ear that can enjoy music neglected a science which has done much towards subduing the ferocious passions of men and giving innocent pleasure to society; and so absolute has been their

neglect, that most of the works of the greatest composers of sacred music have never found those in our land who have even attempted their performance. Impressed with these sentiments, the undersigned do hereby agree to form themselves into a society, by the name of the Handel and Haydn Society, for the purpose of improving the style of performing sacred music, and introducing into more general use the works of Handel and Haydn and other eminent composers; and we agree to adopt thirteen regulations for the government of the society, and to abide by them. (Perkins & Dwight, 1883-1893/1977, p. 39)

The members of the Philharmonic Society were often involved as members of the orchestra in the musical concerts of the Handel and Haydn Society. The first concert was given at Kings' Chapel at six o'clock on the evening of December 25, 1815, and included parts of Haydn's Creation and Handel's Messiah and Israel in Egypt. Gottlieb Graupner played double bass in the orchestra and Catherine sang "With Verdure Clad" and "Let the Bright Seraphim" (Perkins & Dwight, 1883-1893/1977, p. 44).

The choir consisted of ninety male and ten female voices "whose treble was strengthened, according to the custom of the time, by a few falsetto voices" (Perkins & Dwight, 1883-1893/1977, p. 44). In the audience were nearly 1000 people, an amazing number considering the population of Boston at this time. Reviews of the concert were favorable as well, helping to successfully launch the newly formed organization.

After his initial groundwork role in the formation of the Handel and Haydn Society, Graupner had little to do with the month to month operations of the organization. He did participate with other members of the Philharmonic Society in

performances of the choral group for which they were remunerated. Graupner's music store also profited from the existence of the Handel and Haydn Society. Since he was the major supplier of musical scores in Boston at this time, it was only logical that the society would purchase its needed music from Graupner's inventory. For example, for the preparation of the first concert "a number of copies of Haydn's Creation (single vocal parts on half sheets) were also purchased (September 22) from Mr. Graupner at five cents a page" (Perkins & Dwight, 1883-1893/1977, p. 42). Graupner also provided for the rental and tuning of the society's pianofortes which afforded him some additional income.

The Later Years

On Wednesday, October 2, 1822, just a few days before his 55th birthday, Gottlieb Graupner married Mary Hill in Providence, Rhode Island. Little is known of the new bride except that she was "the only daughter of Captain John Hill of Boston" (A.A.S., Rhode Island American and General Advertiser, October 4, 1822). The couple had three children: Harriet Hills Graupner (b. December 15, 1823), Stephen Hills Graupner (no birth or death dates known), and Charles E. Graupner (?1828-October 22, 1841).

Apart from his family life, Graupner's later years do not appear to have been his happiest. After 1820 his business

steadily declined, many of his musical friends had died or moved from Boston, and by 1825 the Philharmonic Society had lost much its original importance in the musical circles of Boston. Financial problems were close at hand as well.

Already as early as 1818, there appear to have been signs that Graupner's music business was declining. In that year he took on George Cushing, his son-in-law, as his partner. The firm was known as G. Graupner and Company and moved from its long-standing location on Franklin Street to 25 Marlboro Street. Here Graupner and Cushing continued to sell "direct from London, an elegant assortment of Piano Fortes, among them a Cabinet Piano, of uncommon richness of tone." They also sold music which included songs by Mozart and Haydn and oratorios by Handel, Haydn, and Beethoven, "together with a great variety of sonatas, variations, &c for the Piano Forte" (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, October 28, 1818).

Unfortunately, this association proved to be as disastrous as his previous partnership with Mallet and Trajetta, for early in 1820, the following advertisement was placed in a Boston newspaper:

G. Graupner & Co. respectfully give notice, that being about to close their present concern, they will sell off their large and valuable Stock at such very reduced prices as cannot fail to make it an object to purchasers, and especially to Dealers in their line. They further give notice, that their Copartnership will expire on the 17th of Feb. next, on which day all that remains of the Stock will be sold at Public Auction, without reserve. (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, January 19, 1820)

A few months later another small advertisement tends to support the idea of a business decline: "To be let, Store No. 6, Franklin-Street--possession given immediately" (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, June 3, 1820). It is not clear whether or not Graupner was able to sublet his business at this address for he used the familiar Franklin Street address in some advertisements between 1820 and 1827, but he may have simply been living at this location.

For the next several years, Graupner continued to sell music and instruments from a store at No. 197 Washington-Street (A.A.S., The Evening Gazette, July 15, 1826), but overall the business appears to have been in a steady decline.

Another event tends to support the idea that Graupner was in financial difficulty at this point in his life. On April 30, 1825, there was a benefit concert for Graupner, the announcement for which came with the following plea for generosity: "Such artists have a claim upon society and patronage should be extended to keep them above the exigencies of life" (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, April 30, 1825).

The program included some traditional favorites of the Philharmonic Society, the Kreutzer Lodoiska Overture and Haydn's Military Symphony. Also, two of the Graupner children performed at the benefit. "Miss Graupner" (most likely Charlotte) and "Master Graupner" (perhaps John Henry Howard) performed works for the occasion.

Johnson (1943) also mentions other benefits for the aging Graupner. One, in 1828, was presented by the French Opera Company of New Orleans. Since these performers were new to the Boston community, it is possible, as Johnson suggested, that they were showing respect to one of the great names in Boston's musical circle in hopes of securing a larger audience for their series of Boston performances.

In September, 1827, Graupner moved one last time to No. 1 Province House Court and there advertised an academy.

Mr. Graupner intends to give Instruction in Music, on Thursday and Saturday afternoons, in addition to his regular school of Monday and Thursday mornings, for the accommodation of Young Ladies, who do not wish to interfere with their school hours. His afternoon school will commence on Thursday at half-past 2 o'clock, P.M. Apply at his Academy, No. 1, Province House Court. (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, September 12, 1827)

Two years later in September, 1829, there was another clearance sale advertised by John Ashton: "for sale a large assortment of Piano Forte music, consisting of Graupner's and Bradlee's Catalogues at Half Price" (A.A.S., Columbian Centinel, September 9, 1829). This seems to have been the last mention of his business dealings in the press, which leaves one to assume he had at least semi-retired from the music business by then.

Graupner did not, however, remove himself completely from the music business. A study of his business papers revealed that on June 24, 1832, at the age of 64, he wrote a bill to a Mr. E. Billings: "For tuning piano \$2.00" (Horace Mann Reynolds Papers, A54745[26]). This small scrap of paper

speaks volumes about the changes that had occurred in Gottlieb Graupner's life. The once undisputed leader of music in Boston had reverted to tuning pianos to generate income.

According to his granddaughter, Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner died on April 16, 1836, of an ulcerated sore throat at No. 1 Province House Court, Boston, Massachusetts, "at the age of sixty-nine years and six months" (Stone, 1906, p. 4). Obviously, Mrs. Stone's computations are a year off, since Graupner would have been only 68 in April of 1836.

The official cause of death was listed as "pleurisy fever" (Official Record of the Deaths and Burials in the City of Boston, 1836). His funeral was held at Trinity Church, Summer Street, on April 20. His body was placed in the family vault No. 14 under St. Matthew's Church in South Boston. In 1866 when the church was demolished, "his body along with those of other members of his family was removed to 630 Heber Walk, Mt. Hope Cemetery, West Roxbury, Massachusetts" (Stone, 1906, p. 4).

In comparison to the glowing newspaper eulogy given his first wife, Catherine, the notice of Gottlieb Graupner's passing was stark indeed, a sign perhaps that this once prominent figure in Boston's musical society had been forgotten by a younger, more musically progressive generation.

DIED In this city on Friday, Mr. Gottlieb Graupner, Professor and teacher of music, about 70. Mr. Graupner was a native of Germany but has resided upwards of 30 years in this city where he was equally well known for his musical skill and acquirements as for his private

virtues. (A.A.S., Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot, April 20, 1836)

CHAPTER 4
AN ANALYSIS OF GRAUPNER'S
PEDAGOGICAL WORKS

Introduction

Between the years 1806 and 1826, Gottlieb Graupner published in Boston a succession of instructional works for beginning students. These books, referred to as tutors, instructors, and preceptors, were then sold by Graupner to the growing market of pupils eager to complement their education with the appropriate dose of musical instruction.

These works include Rudiments of the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte, first published in 1806 with a second revised edition appearing in 1819; A New Preceptor for the German Flute, which was published c. 1807-1809; A New Instructor for the Clarinet, which according to Johnson, (1943) was at that time located in the Library of Congress and had a copyright date of January 15, 1811; Complete Preceptor for the German Flute, c. 1825; and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet, dated July 14, 1826.

The present writer unearthed copies of all the above works except A New Instructor for the Clarinet which has not been located within the archives of the Library of Congress for several decades. Evidently, since Johnson first learned

of the work in the 1940s it has been misplaced or lost. Also, as was mentioned in an earlier chapter, Graupner's estate listed plates for a preceptor for the double bass. It seems likely that this work was either never completed or never published since there is no other mention of the work anywhere and no copies are known to be extant. It may have been a project begun by Graupner which never was seen to completion.

During the early decades of the century, Graupner was a shrewd businessman who was able to monitor the musical market carefully and produce the types of popular melodies which he knew the quickly burgeoning middle-class population would crave. His pedagogical books also filled a need as the demand for musical instruction increased dramatically during this time.

It has been revealed by several scholars (Rosenblum, 1974; Clark, 1988) that Graupner's piano pedagogy books are not completely original works, but quote extensively from earlier books by both Muzio Clementi (Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte, 1801/1974) and Jan Dussek (Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, 1796).

The present writer has also discovered that Graupner's instructional books for woodwind instruments are not original works either, and therefore, some discussion of the issue of plagiarism during this period in time is warranted before examining the contents of the individual books.

It is commonly understood that in previous centuries all types of printed material were regularly republished without benefit of attribution to the original author or composer. In this country, for example, John Rowe Parker's Euterpeiad, an early music periodical, reprinted unattributed sections of Charles Burney's A General History of Music (1776) in a serial format. In another example, James Hewitt's Il Introductione di Preludio, Being an easy method to acquire the Art of Playing extempore upon the Piano-Forte (c.1807) is a translation of Andre Grétry's piano instruction book.

Wolfe (1980) provided a thorough discussion of the history of the copyright law in America, and explained that the original Copyright Act of 1790 protected only works published by native-born and naturalized American citizens. In fact, the law specifically stated that it should not be construed to prohibit the reprinting within the United States of works published by any person who was not a citizen of the United States. Congress not only allowed the pirating of foreign publications, but in essence encouraged it.

Foreign editions, especially the favorites of the London stage, were reprinted by American publishers (Blake, Willig, Aitken, and others) as soon as copies reached our shores. (One is inclined to suspect that, as was the custom with book publishers, some of our more enterprising publishers of music must have had arrangements with foreign agents for the transmission of copies of popular foreign compositions expressly for reprinting here.) In this regard it was 'open season' all the time. (Wolfe, p. 193)

It is not this writer's intent to debate the ethics of plagiarism of published works during this time, but rather to

present the existence of such piracy so that it can be discussed within its historical perspective. In any case, Graupner's pedagogical works must be examined in light of their historical precedents, regardless of these circumstances.

Music Engraving and Printing

The process of music engraving and printing in America in the early nineteenth century was usually carried out by English and German musicians and music teachers who emigrated to this country after the Revolution. Generally the engraver-publisher undertook such a sideline to supplement his income and to provide a ready source of music for his pupils. Graupner was no exception. In his exhaustive study of the process of early American music engraving and printing, Richard J. Wolfe quoted a handwritten deposition of John W. Moore, the nineteenth century commentator on American music, which explains that Graupner went into the business of printing "because he was unable to obtain in this country a satisfactory supply of such music as he wanted to use" (cited in Wolfe, 1980, p. 124).

The process that Graupner used involved stamping or engraving pewter plates with a set of punches. Pewter, an alloy, was used in place of the earlier copper because of its reduced cost, greater pliability, and increased durability.

By 1802, the year Graupner began his publishing, the paper used in the printing process was generally made in America. The finer, water-marked European papers were used only for special printings.

The retail cost of one printed page of music was usually 12 1/2 cents or the equivalent of a shilling. Sometimes music from this period advertises the price in both dollars and cents, and in shillings and pence, reflecting the coexistence of the two monetary systems until the 1830s when American currency was standardized.

Until about 1818, Graupner engraved his own plates using tools procured from England. After this date, Samuel Wetherbee was employed by him to do the engraving. Graupner evidently also taught his son, John Henry Howard, the art of engraving, for the younger Graupner became the head of that department in the firm of Oliver Ditson and Company (the daughter company of Parker and Ditson) which bought many of the elder Graupner's plates after his death in 1836.

Graupner added publication numbers (and earlier on, plate numbers) to some of his works. Although some scholars have used these plate-numbering systems in an effort to reconstruct exact dates of publication for various printers, Wolfe (1980) contends that the non-standardized practice may, in fact, complicate the process of affixing dates to specific works:

Those publishers who did maintain numbering systems sometimes added identifying symbols to their plates only upon reprinting them, which in some cases may have occurred long after the initial engraving. (In a few

cases, plates, particularly for instrumental works, were never reprinted by their publishers and, as a consequence never got into the publisher's numbering system. Because of this practice, which is especially identified with Gottlieb Graupner of Boston, it is difficult to reconstruct early plate-numbering systems to the point that they can be employed accurately for dating music, most of which appeared without an indication of year of publication. (p. 197)

One advantage of using engraved plates for music publishing was that the printer could print out as many or as few copies of a given work as he desired. The publisher was able to reissue music continually from the same set of plates as long as they remained in good condition and were kept from being scratched. Initially a printer would produce a small number of copies of a work in order not to tie up precious quantities of paper in unsold inventory. This practice lead to an interesting chronology in the life of an engraved plate:

Because of the small editions which must have predominated in early American music publishing, plates engraved for them had a life expectancy which usually exceeded the needs of their original owners or makers. This factor gave rise to the custom of transferring plate stocks and even tools and implements, to a subsequent publisher when a publisher quit business or died. The succeeding publisher then reused these earlier plates to issue a new edition under his own name or imprint. (Wolfe, 1980, p.200)

This is exactly the situation in the case of Graupner's A New Preceptor for the German Flute. The work is an exact copy of The Flute Preceptor by R. Shaw which was published in Philadelphia in 1802. Graupner acquired the plates from Shaw and continued to publish the work adding only a new title page, a glossary, and changing the title on the first page of text. Shaw's name appears nowhere in Graupner's book.

Besides selling the pedagogy books in his own music store, Graupner distributed his works through a network of other music merchants and book store owners. It is possible to piece together an overview of this system from a study of the H. M. Reynolds papers housed at Brown University.

Evidently, Mr. Reynolds had acquired some of the business records of Graupner and the documents were sold to the university after his death. They include an invoice book dated 1802-1817; an order book, 1808-1815; and an invoice-commission book which records music sent to Graupner from New York by James Hewitt. The last book even includes the names of the ships and their captains who transported the music.

From the account books, it can be seen that Graupner's distribution network radiated out from Boston and included such retailers as Mr. Adams in Portland, Maine; Cushing and Appleton in Salem, Massachusetts; Henry Cushing of Providence, Rhode Island; Thomas and Sappen of Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Nicholas Geoffroy of New Port; William P. Wilder of New Port; and a merchant of Philadelphia whose name is illegible in the notebook.

Rudiments of the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte

In 1806, Gottlieb Graupner published the first edition of his earliest pedagogical work. The title page of the piano tutor gives the reader a wealth of information about its

purpose as well as the customary advertisement for its compiler:

Rudiments of the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte containing Elements of Music[,] preliminary remarks on Fingering with Examples, thirty fingered Lessons, and a plain Direction for Tuning. Arranged by Gottlieb Graupner. Entered according to Law [,] Boston[.] Printed and Sold By G. Graupner at his Musical Repository. 6 Franklin Street. Where may be had the latest and best Publications of Europe and America, Also Clementi's new patent Piano Forte's [sic] superiour to any others yet known, together with a general Assortment of Music and Musical Instruments on the best Terms. Piano Fortes to let and tuned at the shortest Notice. As a supplement [sic] to the above, Work may be had progressive fingered Lessons selected from the best Composers. Price \$2.50 (n.p. title page)

Unlike many of Graupner's publications, the dating of this work is certain. Leonard (1944) found that Rudiments was registered for copyright on August 29, 1806, with the U.S. District Court of Massachusetts. Also, it was advertised in Boston newspapers in the following days as "published this day and for sale by G. Graupner, at his Musical Repository, No. 6 Franklin Street" (A.A.S., The Repository, September 2, 1806 and A.A.S., Boston Gazette, September 4 and 11, 1806).

The title page of this first edition is followed by forty pages of instructional text and musical examples "arranged by Gottlieb Graupner." The use of the term "arranged" here is very appropriate, since research has shown (Clark, 1988, Rosenblum, 1974) that almost all of the text, many of the lessons, and the glossary were taken directly from two works published earlier by the pianists Muzio Clementi (Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte, 1801/1974) and Jan

Dussek (Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, 1796). Although the works were both published in London after Graupner had already settled in America, both authors were active in London as performers during the 1790s when Graupner was living and performing in that city as well. He was undoubtedly acquainted with the reputation of these musicians as expert teachers and performers.

The works published by Clementi and Dussek were among the earliest ones written specifically for the pianoforte. They were both incredibly popular books with multiple printings. Besides the eleven English editions published by Clementi's firm, his Introduction was translated into French and German in 1802, Spanish in 1809, and Italian in the 1830s. The eighth English edition was reproduced in the United States by the New York publishers J.A. and W. Geib in 1820-21. The Geibs had their engraver make new plates and reproduce the work in this country fifteen years after Graupner had introduced the material to the Boston musical community.

Clementi's work had, according to Rosenblum (1974), "an unmistakable influence on several French, English, and American methods" (p. ix). These include Louis Adam's Methode of 1804; Johann Baptist Cramer's Instructions for the Pianoforte, 1812; Neville Butler Challoner's A New Preceptor for the Pianoforte, c. 1810; and Graupner's Rudiments, 1806. The fact that Graupner published the work as early as he did emphasizes his keen perception of the music market and his

good judgement in selecting such excellent teaching material for publication. Even Graupner's detractors give him credit for capable discernment in the selection of his sources:

In spite of Graupner's grand theft, his (and Clementi's) Rudiments represents a significant advance in thoroughness and technique, over a period of more than two decades. Anyone who mastered the contents certainly rose beyond the level of mere dilettante. (Clark, 1988, p. 296)

The business ledger books kept by Gottlieb Graupner, now housed at Brown University, contain an entry for March 7, 1806, which lists all the items "bought of Clementi and Co." of London (Horace Mann Reynolds Papers, A54745[1]). Included in this handwritten list of musical instruments, sheet music, and miscellany are copies of Pleyel's sonatas, Cramer's Opus 31, and Clementi's Introduction as well as copies of a preceptor by an author whose name is not completely legible, but looks very much like Dussek. In any event, it is known that Graupner had easy access to these two preceptors which were published in London and that it took him very little time to appreciate the usefulness of these texts. Within six months he was printing his own copies using much of Clementi's and Dussek's own words.

It is also interesting to note that Graupner continued to order copies of Clementi's tutor even after he was publishing his own version of the work in this country. The ledger book lists several more orders for the English preceptor in September, 1809 and March, 1810. Evidently, Graupner was a shrewd businessman who realized that some of his customers

would prefer to purchase the European "model," and he was happy to oblige them.

Although it is not possible to determine exactly how many copies of Graupner's Rudiments were published, it was evidently his most popular work based on the number of printings and editions. The first edition was reprinted with minor changes in 1808, and a second (and much better known) edition was published in 1819 with subsequent printings in 1825 and 1827.

Graupner wasted no time in distributing his new work through his network of New England stores that worked on commission. An entry in his ledger book dated October 1, 1806, lists "3 Instruction Books P.F. [pianoforte] 7.50" sent to Thomas and Sappen of Portsmouth (Horace Mann Reynolds Papers, A54745[1]). This was less than a month after the book was first advertised in the Boston newspapers.

Rudiments, First Edition

Copies of the first edition of Graupner's piano preceptor (in "hard" copy and microform versions) are housed in both the Boston Public Library and the library of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, dated 1806 and 1808. The 1806 printing contains plate numbers only on pages 1-3 (219-221) and pages 17-20 (235-238), while the later printing uses the identifying numbers throughout (219-258). In both, the text line "Graupners [sic] Art to play on the

Piano Forte" or "Graupners Art of playing on the Piano Forte" is found at the bottom of some of the pages.

The differences between the two printings are slight and can only be detected on a page-by-page comparison. There are some spelling changes (for example, "stacato" for "staccato") and some additions to the glossary. The later printing contains definitions for nine additional terms (Direct, Fuga, Largo Assai, Musico, Non, Non Troppo Largo, Obligato [German spelling], Overture, and Rinforza). Although these changes did not significantly change the content of the work, they are helpful in that they confirm a second printing of the text.

As was customary for pedagogy books of this period, the opening pages of the book include a discussion of the elements of music and their symbols. In the first nine pages the reader is presented with information on note names and their place on the clefs, a thorough discussion of various clefs and their ranges, a fingering chart that illustrates which notes on the five-octave keyboard correspond to the individual notes on the staves, and an explanation of intervals and the diatonic scale, note names and their values, simple and compound time, accidentals and other various musical symbols.

Although these opening pages provide a thorough explanation of the basic rudiments of music which would be similar to those taught today, there are some noteworthy deviations from modern methods which give the reader some historical insights.

Graupner devoted two full pages to the study of clefs. Interestingly enough, although beginning pianists generally use only the treble and bass clefs, Graupner included an explanation of seven clefs: first, second and third treble, counter tenor, tenor, bass tenor, and bass.

In his discussion of note values, Graupner used the English terminology in common use in his time. The terms used include the semibreve, minum [sic], crotchet, quaver, semiquaver, and demi-semiquaver. He included a table comparing note values with their equivalent rests.

Following his explanation of accidental markings and how enharmonic notes are "struck by the same key" (p.7), Graupner explained to the student the concept of tempered tuning of the keyboard:

Now the Inconveniency of charging the memory with the various uses of the same Keys, is but small; when compared with the Impracticableness [sic] of performing on an Instrument, furnished with Keys; perfectly corresponding with every Flat and Sharp, single or double, which Composition may require.

A method, therefore, has been adopted in tuning, called TEMPERAMENT; which by a small deviation from the Truth of every Interval, except the Octave, renders the Instrument capable of satisfying the Ear in every Key. (p.7)

This excerpt is complemented at the end of the book with a two-page discussion of how to tune the piano forte beginning with c'' and its lower octave and proceeding downward by fourths. Graupner, using the obscure German term "temperature" for temperament, gave the would-be tuner the following recipe for mean-tone tempering of the scale:

To obtain the Temperature, that is, a small proportional Deviation from the Truth of every Interval, except the Octave, the 5ths must be tuned rather flat, and the 3ds rather sharp than otherwise; if this is well observed by tuning the first 8ve, than the first C will prove a perfect 5th to F below.

If the first Trial gives a fine Third, than what has been done may be depended; on but if otherwise, it will be best to begin a fresh, and tune all over again, and the same by the second Trial. (p.40)

It is not surprising that since Graupner heavily quoted Clementi's preceptor in this opening section, his book should also emphasize the legato playing style advocated by the European master. The following passage, for example, is taken directly from pages eight and nine of Clementi's text:

[Legato] must be played in a smooth and close manner; which is done by keeping down the first Key, 'till the next is struck; by which means, the Strings vibrate sweetly into one another.

N.B. When the Composer leaves the Legato, and Staccato to the Performers [sic] taste the best rule is, to adhere chiefly to the Legato; reserving the Staccato to give the spirit occasionally to certain passages, and to set off the higher beauties of the Legato. (Graupner, 1806, p.9)

The following section, which includes two pages of musical terms and their definitions, gives added information about the usage and ambiguity of nomenclature in the early part of the nineteenth century. This section begins with a "list of terms mostly in use, to ascertain the Velocity of every Composition--beginning by the slowest Degree, which is Adagio--and gradually proceeding to the quickest, which is Prestissimo" (p.10). The list taken from Clementi (p. 13 without the spelling error), is as follows:

1. Adagio 2. Grave 3. Largo 4. Lento 5. Larghetto 6. Andantino 7. Andante 8. Allegretto 9. Moderato 10. Tempo Guisto [sic] 11. Maestoso 12. Con Commodo 13.

Allegro 14. Vivace 15. Conspirito 16. Spiritoso 17.
 Con Brio 18. Con Fuoco 19. Presto 20. Prestissimo
 (p.10)

In this ranking, from slow to fast, Adagio is considered to be the slowest tempo and is thus placed before Grave and Largo. Although this may seem to be confusing to the modern musician, it is in keeping with the Italian custom of the eighteenth century. Likewise, Andantino is considered to be slower than Andante, a reversal of today's interpretation, but an illustration of the ambiguity associated with the term in the late eighteenth century. It is also worthy to note that several of the terms in the tempo list, such as Spiritoso, Con Brio, and Maestoso, connote in present usage more an indication of emotion or mood rather than a specific tempo.

As was explained earlier, the two printings of the first edition of Rudiments vary slightly in their inclusion of terms on the two pages of the glossary or "table of technical terms by the alphabet" (p.10). The terms and their definitions are taken verbatim from Dussek's Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte or Harpsichord (1796/1974); however, Graupner only selected 90 words (99 in the 1808 printing) from Dussek's more extensive list.

Unfortunately, Graupner's use of Dussek's definitions included copying his errors as well. In the definition for "Mezzo piano," both texts give the meaning "softer than Piano" (Dussek, p. 46; Graupner, p. 11), rather than the customary "moderately soft, louder than piano" (Randel, 1986, p. 491.)

Also Graupner includes the term "Gicesto, Just, Exact; as a Tempo Gicesto, in just and exact Time" (p. 11) rather than Dussek's spelling, Giusto, used for the same definition (p. 46).

Another term defined here which gives some perspicacity to performance practices is "Capriccio [sic], an Extemporary, a piece of Music, in which the Author, without any Restraint of Music, give Liberty to his Fancy, nearly the same as Preludium" (p. 10). This definition is especially revealing when understood in the context of the tradition of the Classical period, one which is usually considered to be synonymous with restraint rather than the expression of emotion. The meaning of the term here shows that the late Classical period was not devoid of sentiment and that there was room for the demonstration of emotion through the composing and performing of such "extemporary" works as the capriccio and the prelude.

Another area which provides information concerning performance practice is the use and description of ornaments. Graupner limited his discussion of ornaments to appoggiaturas, turns, shakes (trills), and beats (mordents) as had Clementi from whom the definitions were taken. This is in sharp contrast to earlier pedagogy books such as those of the French clavecin school which gave much more emphasis to the delineation of many more ornaments. The trend at the beginning of the nineteenth century was to use ornaments to

enhance but not obscure the melodic line. To this end, for example, Graupner chose to use Clementi's interpretation of the transient or passing shake in which the trill begins on the main note before moving to its upper neighbor. This puts the melodic line on the strong beat, emphasizing it rather than the dissonance as would have been the case in an earlier time. Unfortunately, in engraving the plate for printing, Graupner made an error in the example that shows the realization of the passing shake. The sixty-fourth and sixteenth notes are reversed from Clementi's example, rendering the illustration very misleading to the beginning student.

Graupner's explanation of the appoggiatura is also in keeping with the style of the day:

The APPOGGIATURA is a Grace prefixed to a Note, which is always played Legato, and with more or less Emphasis, being derived from the Italien [sic] verb Appoggiare, to lean upon; and is written in a small Note. Its lenght [sic] is borrowed from the following large Note, and in general, it is half of its Duration; more or less; however, according to the Expression of the Passage. (p. 12)

In the page of examples which follows, the student is given a thorough set of realizations of the appoggiatura in various situations. These realizations always are presented with the grace note played on the beat and generally for half of the duration of the main note. But Graupner did give the final discretion to the performer to play "as Taste best directs in the Passage" (p.12).

Similarly, in the discussion of the beat, the student is encouraged to allow the length of the ornament to be determined by the circumstances of the passage, but the change in musical styles of the period is also clearly signaled in the concluding statement: "Lastly, let us remark, that the Beat is seldom used in modern Music" (p.14).

Not until page 16 does the text give the student information pertaining specifically to the piano. Included here are instructions on fingering, positioning of the hand, and practicing scales in all the major and minor keys. Curiously, however, there is no discussion of the piano pedals or their use, despite the fact that the devices were common on the pianos of the period. Evidently, since Clementi had not included this information in his text, Graupner considered it unnecessary as well.

As Rosenblum (1974) has asserted, Clementi was likely to have been the earliest writer to make the point that the easiest fingering may not also be the best for achieving the desired musical (legato) effect. Graupner used Clementi's exact words to make his opening remarks on the art of fingering:

To produce the best Effect, by the easiest Means, is the great Basis of the Art of Fingering. The Effect, being of the highest Importance, is first consulted; the Way to accomplish it is then devised; and that Mode of Fingering is preferre[d] which gives the best Effect, tho' not always the easiest to the Performer. But the combination of Notes being almost infinite, the Art of Fingering will best be taught by Examples. (p.16)

The beginning student is also given directions for striking the keys and positioning himself or herself at the keyboard:

The Hand and Arm should be held in an horizontal Position; neither depressing nor raising the Wrist: the Seat should therefore be adjusted accordingly. The Fingers and Thumb should be placed over the Keys, always ready to strike, bending the Fingers in, more or less in proportion to their Length. All unnecessary Motion must be avoided. (p.16)

Following this explanation, the major and minor scales are presented with specific fingerings noted for each scale. Graupner used the English system of notation in which + is used to designate the thumb followed by 1 through 4 for the other fingers in order. The preferred style of legato performance required more extensive use of the thumb than in earlier times, however, the use of the thumb was still regularly avoided on the black notes.

In keeping with the emphasis on legato playing, the student was also taught the art of silent substitution in short exercises with the following directions:

The 4X means that after striking C with the 4th Finger, the Thumb is shifted on the key without striking it; and in a similar manner with the left Hand. This mode of Fingering should be much practised [*sic*] in various ways, the Legato Style requiring it very frequently. (p. 19)

The next three pages contain fingered exercises consisting of repeated notes, arpeggios, and passages in thirds and sixths. The selections are all notated in the treble clef except for one in bass clef for the left hand with the following note for adapting the exercises: "Most of the

passages fingered for the right hand, may, by the Ingenuity and Industry of the Pupil, become models for the Left" (p 21).

The remainder of the book (except for the last two pages on tuning the piano which have already been discussed) consists of musical exercises arranged for the beginning student. The following is a compilation of the lessons with the tempo and title of each (if given), key, and composer (as given or ascertained).

Table 1 Contents of Lessons in Rudiments, First Edition

<u>Lesson</u>	<u>Tempo/Title</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Composer</u>
I	Moderato	C major	Graupner
II	Con Commodo	C major	Graupner
III	Allegro	C major	
IV	Andante	C major	Graupner
V	Vivace	C major	Graupner
VI	Andante	C major	Loehein
VII	Con Spirito	C major	Linley
VIII	*Air in Atalanta	C major	Handel
IX	Allegretto	C major	Nauman
X	Vivace	C major	Pleyel
XI	Andantino	C major	
XII	Rondo/Allegretto	C major	Hook
XIII	*Gavotta/Allegro	A minor	Corelli
XIV	Allegro	F major	Bergfeld
XV	Menuetto	F major	Pleyel
XVI	*Con Anima	D minor	Scarlatti
XVII	*Air in the Cherokee	G major	[Storace]
XVIII	Rondo/Andante	G major	
XIX	*Andante	G major	
XX	*Larghetto	G major	Pleyel
XXI	*Air/Allegro	G major	
XXII	*Minuetto	B-flat major	Scarlatti
XXIII	*Air/Allegretto	B-flat major	[Baudron]
XXIV	Overture (Lodoiska)	D major	[Kreutzer]
	Allegro con Spirito		
XXV	Andante cantabile	E-flat major	Pleyel
XXVI	Andante	A major	Haydn
XXVII	Siciliana	A major	Pleyel
XXVIII	Andantino	A major	Pleyel
XXIX	Allegro	A major	
XXX	*Polonoise/Andante	E major	J.S. Bach

*Indicates works included in Clementi's Introduction.

As shown in Table 1, of the 30 exercises, 12 are in the key of C major with the remainder in relatively close keys making them both accessible to the beginning pianist and playable upon the early nineteenth-century piano. Lesson XXVI is not however in the key of A-sharp major as the page contends, but in A major. The most remote key, E major, is represented by a single example, J.S. Bach's "Polonaise" (Polonoise) from the Sixth French Suite.

According to Clark (1988) this work marked the first time that Bach's music had been included in an American publication. Since the German master had been dead for 50 years at the time, it is noteworthy that Clementi and Graupner considered his composition important enough to be included in their preceptors at a time when many others had forgotten or belittled his contributions to keyboard literature. For whatever reason (possibly for space considerations), Graupner chose not to include the minuet section from the Bach work as Clementi had.

Of the 30 musical examples, or lessons, 10 (not 5 as noted by Clark, 1988) are taken directly from Clementi's Introduction, making this section of the book Graupner's most original. The lessons begin with some of his own simple examples, giving the novice pianist some easier pieces to conquer at first. He also omitted most of the relative minor keys (which Clementi had included).

The other composers whose works are included in this tutor are those who music was popular in England during the early nineteenth century: Loelein, Linley, Handel, Nauman, Pleyel, Hook, Corelli, Bergfeld, Scarlatti, and Haydn.

Although Handel, Corelli, and Scarlatti had been dead for many years, their music had been kept alive through repeated performances. The Concert of Ancient Music which existed in England from 1776 to 1849 performed only music that was at least 20 years old, and Handel and Corelli's works were among those most frequently performed. Domenico Scarlatti's harpsichord pieces were likewise popular in England at this time, having been published there by both Roseingrave and Clementi.

The lessons represent a mixture of works originally composed for keyboard and those adapted for the piano from other media. Those adaptations include the Corelli "Gavotta" taken from his Sonata in A Minor, Opus 4 No. 5; the Kreutzer orchestral overture to the opera, Lodoiska; and Haydn's "Andante" from Symphony No. 53 in D Major (Imperial Symphony).

Graupner included in the lessons many of the same types of music which he had been selling in his store. The overture to Lodoiska by Kreutzer as well as works by Pleyel, Hook, and Haydn were pieces which his business records show he had ordered repeatedly from London. Graupner was acutely in tune with the music popular in cultured circles of the day, and he

consistently provided the music that the customers were willing to buy.

Rudiments, Second Edition

In 1819 Gottlieb Graupner revised his piano tutor and, in May of that year, published the second edition. In many respects this edition is similar to the first, but there are some significant changes over the work published thirteen years earlier. There were at least two additional printings of the second edition in 1825 and 1827, dates carefully recorded on the preface pages. All of the copies sold for \$2.50, just as the first edition had.

All of the plates used for the second edition were completely new. Whereas the 1808 printing used consecutive numbering of the plates, all the plates used in the second edition are numbered 520, another example of the inconsistent use of a decipherable numbering system by Graupner.

The preface, which was not included in the first edition, gives the historian added information as to the place of music instruction in 1819 in the United States:

THE very favorable reception which the first edition of the following work has met with, and the still increasing demand for it in all parts of the United States, have induced the author to publish a second, with additions and improvements. He deems it unnecessary to enter into a minute detail of the various motives, which, in addition to the above, have prompted the present undertaking. It is sufficient, perhaps, to say, that the study of Music (more particularly vocal) is daily becoming more and more fashionable in this country, and the consequent measure of rational enjoyment which its

practice affords, both to hearers and performers, has fully realized the anticipations of its warmest friends.

Of all Instruments as yet known, the Piano Forte claims precedence as an accompaniment to the human voice; and its use has become so universal, that the education of a young lady is hardly thought to be complete without it. But the excellence of the Piano, as an accompaniment to the voice, is not its greatest recommendation. As a Solo Instrument, if we take into view its power of combination, it is perhaps superior to all others; and accordingly we find, that the greatest masters of modern times have successively exercised their talents in eliciting its various powers; which indeed, are no so far developed, that it is probable no further improvements of much importance will be made.

Sensible of the above facts, and convinced of the necessity of a standard elementary work, both for teachers and Learners, the author of the following work has spared no pains to render it as complete as possible. He has consulted the best modern works of the kind, and taken such hints from them, as he thought would be useful, more particularly as applicable to the compositions of the modern school. These, added to the improvements which his own long experience in teaching has enabled him to make, he trusts will render the work still more worthy of the liberal patronage, with which the former edition has been already honored. In this hope, and with the most grateful acknowledgments for their liberal encouragement of his professional exertions, this new edition is respectfully submitted to the public. Boston, May, 1819 (Preface)

In the three printings of this edition there are some small changes in the title page. The 1819 copy states that the work is "arranged by Gottlieb Graupner" (title page) while the later printings, both dated January 1, say "composed and arranged by Gottlieb Graupner" (1825, title page; 1827, title page). The earlier work lists Graupner's workplace as the "Musical Repository," but the later two printings use "Musical Ware House." Also, the first printing includes the following information on the title page which was omitted later: "Also Clementi's new patent Piano Forte's [*sic*], superiour to any

others yet known," and "As a suplement [sic] to the above, Work, may be had progressive fingered Lessons, selected from the best Composers."

Many of the changes in the second edition were cosmetic in that they attempt to modernize and Americanize the text. Common nouns which regularly appeared in Germanic-style with their first letter capitalized in the first edition were changed to lower case in the second. Older spellings of words were updated as well. For example, "cliffs" was replaced by "clefs" and "stile" by "style."

Despite Johnson's contention than the second edition of Graupner's Rudiments is essentially the same as the first except that "the thirtieth Lesson, by Sebastian Bach, is omitted" (1943, p. 333), there are some changes and additions of a more substantive nature. In the second edition, Graupner added more exercises for the right and left hands together, new and different material in the glossary, an added exercise for ornaments, a section on fingering chords, a short entry on using the piano pedals, and diagrams of hand position at the keyboard. Also, Graupner revised many of the 30 lessons from the first edition.

The added exercises in the second edition consist mainly of expanded drills for using both hands together at the keyboard. They include chromatic and diatonic scale passages in both parallel and contrary motion which the student is directed to play "very quick [sic]" (p. 19). There is a new

exercise included for the double shake for both the right and left hands although a note indicates that it occurs "seldom with the Right Hand" (p.14) and the admonition to "be very careful, in making the Shake, not to move the Hand, but merely the Fingers" (p. 14).

The added diagram of hand position at the keyboard is inserted after the preliminary directions for sitting at the keyboard. The two diagrams are line drawings of the right hand with the captions, "Position of the Hand ready to strike," and "Position of the Hand when it strikes" (p.16). The other added information concerning the piano itself is presented on the last page of the book where three paragraphs on the use of the pedals and the symbols used for marking the music are inserted:

The English Square Piano (which is almost universally used in this Country) has but one Pedal, which raises the Dampers, and of course continues the vibration as long as the foot remains on it. . . . The English Grand Piano has two Pedals; the right raises the Dampers, and the left moves the Key-Board so as to play on one string only instead of three. (p 51)

There are several significant changes in the sections which make up the glossary and the chart of tempo designations. In the ranking of tempi from slowest to fastest, the positions of Andante and Andantino are reversed. In the earlier 1806 edition, Andantino was considered to be slower than Andante. In the second edition, the glossary definition of Andantino is "a little quicker than Andante" (p. 10). This is the generally accepted meaning today. There are

some minor changes in the definitions of other tempo designations as well. For example, *Largo*, earlier defined as "very slow" (1806, p.11), is changed simply to "slow" (1819, p. 11), and *Adagio*, "slow time" (1806, p. 10), becomes "the slowest time" (1819, p. 10). These changes highlight the fact that there were shifts in meaning in many tempo designations, and that many of our current definitions were not solidified until sometime in the nineteenth century.

There were also some additions and deletions to the second edition of the glossary. All three printings include the nine terms added to the second printing of the first edition (*Direct*, *Fuga*, *Largo Assai*, *Musico*, *Non*, *Non Troppo*, *Largo*, *Obligato*, *Overture*, and *Rinforza*). The 1819 printing also adds a definition for *Lentando*, but omits the term *Vivo*, keeping the total number of terms at ninety-nine. The 1825 and 1827 printings of the second edition both added "*Fuoco*, Fire, as *Con Fuoco*, with Fire" (p. 11), to round off the count at an even one hundred definitions. Unfortunately, as the plate had to be restruck for these last two printings, several typographical errors in the form of spelling mistakes found their way onto this page of the last two printings ("*reinforce*," "*strenght*,").

Johnson noted that some of the copies of the second edition of Rudiments bear the following note:

This edition differs from those heretofore published by him in the omission of 20 pages. This was done and this edition of my instruction book published at the request of several instructors of music. The pages thus omitted

contained exercises which were generally considered difficult of execution. (1943, p. 333)

In actuality, the second edition has a total of 51 pages, 11 more than the first edition. Despite the implication to the contrary, there are still 30 lessons in the second edition (or actually 31 if the prelude inserted between numbers XXV and XXVI is counted).

Table 2 Contents of Lessons in Rudiments, Second Edition

<u>Lesson</u>	<u>Tempo/Title</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Composer</u>
I	+Mode & Rhythm	C major	Graupner
II	+Con Commodo	C major	Graupner
III	+Allegro	C major	
IV	+Andante	C major	Graupner
V	+Vivace	C major	Graupner
VI	[No title]	C major	Graupner
VII	+Con Spirito	C major	Linley
VIII	*+Air in Atalanta	C major	Handel
IX	+Andante	C major	Loelein
X	+Allegretto	C major	Nauman
XI	Andante	C major	
XII	Polonoise	C major	
XIII	Allegro vivace	C major	
XIV	+Allegretto	C major	Hook
XV	*+Gavotta	A minor	Corelli
XVI	[No title]	F major	Graupner
XVII	Andante	F major	
XVIII	*+Air in the Cherokee	G major	[Storace]
XIX	+Rondo/Andante	G major	
XX	*+Larghetto	G major	Pleyel
XXI	*+Allegro	G major	
XXII	* German Hymn with Variations	G major	Pleyel
XXIII	*+Air/Allegretto	B-flat major	
XXIV	+Overture to Lodoiska	D major	[Kreutzer]
XXV	Minuetto/Allegretto	D major	
[none]	Prelude	E-flat major	
XXVI	Alemand [sic]	E-flat major	
XXVII	Polonoise/Allegretto	A major	
XXVIII	* Gavotta/Allegro	E major	Corelli
XXIX	Allemand	E major	
XXX	Minuetto/Moderato	G major	Hayden

*Works included in Clementi's Introduction, first edition.

+Works included in Graupner's Rudiments, first edition.

There are, however, some definite omissions and substitutions in the lessons included in the second edition (see Table 2). Seventeen of the 30 lessons are the same as those used in the first edition (although several appear in a different sequence). Eight examples are from Clementi's Introduction, two of which did not appear in Graupner's first edition. They are "German Hymn with Variations" by Pleyel, and "Gavotta in E Major" by Corelli (the last movement of his Sonata in E Major, Opus 5, No. 11). Graupner omitted both the Bach work and the two works by Scarlatti as well as a piece simply titled "Andante" by an unnamed composer. In place of the Bach polonaise, the last work in the second edition is a minuet by Haydn (Hayden) which is a transcription of the third movement of his Symphony No. 100 in G Major (the "Military"), a favorite composition of Graupner's.

A New Preceptor for the German Flute

The Boston Public Library's copy of Graupner's A New Preceptor for the German Flute (dated in the card catalog as 182?), is actually a reprinting with minor changes by Graupner of an earlier work by R. Shaw entitled, The Flute Preceptor, published in Philadelphia in 1802.

R. Shaw has been identified by Wolfe (1980) as Ralph Shaw, who published in Philadelphia from 1794 to 1798 and again from 1800 to 1807, with a temporary career in Baltimore in between those years. In 1807, he briefly set up shop in

Boston where he undoubtedly met Graupner, who was the chief music publisher in the city at that time. It is most probable that Graupner bought the printing plates from Shaw whose business was declining and needed an influx of capital. Graupner simply made a few changes and additions to the plates and continued to print them under his own name.

This practice was evidently a common one as the new business of printing music in America struggled during the early part of the nineteenth century. Many music publishing entrepreneurs, unable to support themselves, quickly folded up shop and sold their stock, including music plates, to other more successful establishments. According to Wolfe (1980), some of Graupner's own plates were sold after his death to Oliver Ditson Company.

In studying other preceptors from this time period, it became obvious that much of the language used in the Shaw tutor is strikingly similar to that in an earlier flute preceptor published by J. Wragg⁵ in London in 1792. Much of the introductory paragraphs on music, the merits of the flute, embouchure, the description of double-tonguing, and several of the other terms use the same descriptive terminology. The following serve as examples:

⁵J. Wragg was an English flutist, composer, and writer who was active from the 1790s into the beginning of the nineteenth century in London. His early years of activity coincide with the time that Graupner was also in London. His flute preceptor was reproduced in Philadelphia for American consumption around 1818.

Staccato marks . . . signify that the Notes over which they are placed should be played with spirit and taste, and held only half their time; the remaining Parts being made up by an imaginary Rest between each Note, (Wragg, p. 12)

Staccato is a Point or Dot . . . & signifies the Notes over which stand must be played with Spirit and Taste and held only half the Time, the remaining part is made up by an imaginary Rest between each Note. (Shaw, p. 11)

Although these similarities (as well as others, page after page) tend to support the theory that the cycle of borrowing material for inclusion in music books neither began nor ended with Gottlieb Graupner, it is not the purpose of this writer to trace with certainty the exact original source of these books, nor to document some genealogical flow-chart of musical materials. Rather, it is to show that the tradition of using already-published material was well entrenched at this point in history and to document the obvious borrowing from one writer to the next.

The exact date that Graupner first started publishing copies of this flute preceptor is not known; however, the estimate of 1820s certainly seems too late. The title page indicates that the music was "Printed and Sold by G. Graupner at his Music Store No. 6 Franklin Street." Graupner used the term "music store" on the works he published from about 1807 to 1817. Therefore, in light of Shaw's sojourn in Boston in 1807, it would seem more logical to date Graupner's publishing of the work from around 1807.

Another internal aspect of the work indicates an earlier date of publication as well. The glossary, one of the only

additions made by Graupner, contains a list of terms which is identical to the one included in the first edition of his piano pedagogy book which was published in 1806. In the flute instructor, however, Graupner omitted the terms at the end of the alphabet (beginning with the letters "T" through "Z") apparently in an effort to avoid the added expense of an additional page. In contrast, the glossary Graupner used in the 1819 edition of the piano pedagogy book had been revised extensively. Certainly if Graupner had first published A New Preceptor for the German Flute in the 1820s, he would have used the glossary definitions from the 1819 edition of his piano book rather than those from the one published in 1806.

The flute instructor itself consists of a title page and 33 pages of text and lessons.⁶ Graupner did replace Shaw's title page with one of his own and also substituted his own page of glossary terms for the one Shaw used. The only other change from the original work occurs on the first page of the text (which is marked page 3 in both works). Here Shaw used the title "SHAW'S FLUTE PRECEPTOR" at the top of the page. In Graupner's edition, the title is changed to read: "A NEW FLUTE PRECEPTOR." The plate was simply altered to remove the

⁶There is some confusion over the exact number of pages in this work. Johnson (1943) stated that there are 36 pages. His numbering possibly comes from the fact that the last page of text before the glossary is numbered 34. Adding one each for the title page and the glossary would make a total of 36 pages, however, the first page of text is marked page 3 which throws off the totals. The card file entry for the Boston Public Library also lists the work as having "(34)+1 pp." due to this same page misnumbering.

previous owner's name from the work. Graupner was even clever enough to reuse the "W" from Shaw's name in the word "NEW". When the two copies of the work are displayed side by side, it is clearly evident that these letters coincide on the page and that a much larger space is left in Graupner's title between the words "NEW" and "FLUTE" (where the "'S" had been in the original title) than would normally be expected.

It is also unclear as to how many editions or copies of this work were actually published. The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints (1968) listed an edition of Graupner's A New Flute Preceptor housed at the New York Public Library which, according to this source, was published in London by Clementi around 1820. In correspondence with the library, however, no such copy could be found.

Another much later edition is mentioned in Rinderknecht's A Checklist of American Imprints for 1839 (1988). A study of a microfilm copy of this preceptor obtained from the University of Virginia revealed no mention of Graupner's name whatsoever. The title page states that it is: "A New Preceptor for the German Flute: with a collection of Airs, Duets, Marches, and Waltzes, &c. Eighth edition--compiled by John Patterson, Albany: Published and Sold by Oliver Steele, 403 & 405 South Market-street, Printed by Packard, Van Benthuyzen & Co., 1839." It is ironic that Patterson succeeded in removing Graupner's name as cleanly as Graupner had eliminated Shaw's several decades earlier.

Patterson's edition reveals the advances made in music typesetting since the earlier Shaw and Graupner publications. It is a much more modern, cleaner edition, expanded to 51 pages and including many more musical selections. In the instructional text, however, there are unmistakable paraphrases of both of Graupner's flute tutors as well as direct quotations. For example, the exercises for double tonguing on page 8 of Patterson's work are an exact replication (except for one octave displacement) of Graupner's directions from page 17 of A New Preceptor for the German Flute. Although the exact number of editions or copies printed of Graupner's work cannot be definitively determined, it is clear that this work along with its predecessor had a great influence on instructional methods books for several decades.

The use of the term "German Flute" in the title of this book denotes that it is intended for the transverse flute and not the earlier recorder. Specifically, the text is intended for instruction on the one-keyed flute. In the mid-1600s, the transverse flute acquired a key for D-sharp, the only note which was not easily produced on the keyless Renaissance flute. This instrument was the standard model during the first half of the eighteenth century and remained popular in some circles throughout much of the nineteenth century. This, despite the fact that further improvements had been made, and by the early 1800s an eight-keyed flute was available.

An interesting description of the intonation problems involved in playing this instrument sheds some light on performance practices as well:

They [one-keyed flutes] were generally sharp, and much of the training of flautists must have been devoted to ways of overcoming difficulties of intonation by lipping, alternative fingerings, and turning the instrument inwards or outwards, all techniques that change the tone quality of the individual not considerably. . . . 17th- and 18th-century flutes sound best in the keys of D and G, which have a minimal number of badly out-of-tune notes, and they can scarcely be played effectively in keys with more than three sharps or flats. (Brown, 1984, p. 779-780)

The contents of Graupner's A New Preceptor for the German Flute begin with an affirmation of the special position of music in a complete education and a specific commendation for the expressive qualities of the flute:

Music, since the earliest Ages has been considered not only a Divine Institution, but a Principal part of a liberal Education, and claims the attention of all those who have it in their power to acquire a Knowledge thereof[.] The Flute, from its delicacy and sweetness of Tone, merits an equal share of admiration with other Instruments, and is capable of great Musical Expression. (p. 3)

Following this invocation is a discussion of how to hold the flute and the correct embouchure for the instrument.

The first thing to be learned is holding the Flute in a proper manner, the learner is to take the Flute in the left hand, in such a manner that the thumb may be placed a little below the first finger when applied to the first hole, the second joint bent or arched, the second finger a little more so, the third in an oblique direction without any arch or bend, taking care that the little finger does not rest on the Flute. The thumb of the right hand must be placed under the fourth hole; taking care the little finger on no account touch the Flute, but should support itself over the D sharp key, keeping the ends of the Flute nearly parallel to each other;

Observing always to stand or sit with the body and head upright. (p. 3)

Of the Embouchure or blowing the Flute

The Flute is to be placed between the under lip and chin, that the plug or Embouchure may touch the middle of the under lip, but not cover any considerable part of the hole; the Flute must then be pressed strong against the under lip in order to form a proper aperture; on the management of which every thing depends; in the first place draw the lips backwards much in the same manner as is done in smiling, which tension will from a small aperture or opening in the centre of the lips, through which the breath must pass perpendicularly down, from the mouth to the chin, after once making the Flute sound the continuance of it will depend on the firmness of the lips, being kept in their proper place, make the first trial, with the top joint only, after bringing out a clear and smooth tone, add the top joint to the rest of the Instrument, then put the first finger of the left hand on its proper hole, than add the second, and by degrees the others; the pupil will observe he will probably fail any tone for some time, as some of the fingers may not exactly cover their holes; as he proceed [sic] to the lower tones of the Flute, he must draw his lips back more and more which will greatly facilitate the entrance of the breath, it is also recommended to blow each note until he can bring out the tone with ease, and be able to continue it for some time, clear and smooth, keeping the holes of the Flute on a line with each other, turning the foot or lower joint inward, that the little finger may reach the Key with ease. (p. 3-4)

Thereafter follows a description of how to play a two-octave D major scale, including a fingering chart with the recommendation to "be careful the fingers stop the Holes perfectly close, & also the Leather on the key, otherwise all your Endeavors to produce any degree of Tone, will prove abortive" (p.5).

The next section involves instructing the student to play notes an octave apart (first ascending and then descending within the D major scale) which are perfectly in tune with

each other. "In order to acquire a smooth and equal Tone, he must observe the lower Notes are brought out full, the upper ones clear (but not harsh) by an increased Compression of the Lips, and by giving to the upper Notes of each Octave double the Velocity to the Air" (p. 5-6). The student is also advised to begin each note at a soft dynamic level and then crescendo and decrescendo through each note "holding each Note as long as he conveniently can, in the same breath" (p. 6). This is followed by a section containing a chart of fingerings for the instrument chromatically from d' to b''' including alternative fingerings for some of the notes.

The next major section of the instructional material deals with musical notation and its interpretation. It contains information concerning note and rest values, the use of dots with notes and rests, accidental notation which alters a tone (flats, sharps, and naturals), and the realization of ornaments.

Some of the terminology and definitions used in this section are characteristic of the historical period of the early nineteenth century and so seem slightly foreign to the twentieth-century American reader. For instance, the section on note values uses the older terminology to name the notes (semibreve instead of whole note, crotchets for quarter notes, etc.) Although these terms are still used by British musicians, they are not commonly found in general usage in America. Also, in the section on accidentals there is an

interesting historical insight into their use. The text explains that an accidental used in a measure remains in affect throughout the measure unless contradicted by another accidental, but it also goes on to explain that "if the last Note in the Bar is affected by the Accidental and the first Note of the following is the same, and not contradicted, the affect continues through the next Bar" (p. 9).

A common feature in the instructional books of this and earlier periods is the inclusion of a section on the interpretation of ornaments. A New Preceptor for the German Flute is no exception. It contains a discussion of eight ornaments, the musical symbols used to represent them, and note-for-note examples of how the symbols are to be realized as they are played. The examples include the plain shake, turn'd shake, shake and grace, a beat, passing shake, appoggiatura, plain turn, and the inverted turn. In reality there are simply four ornaments (the shake, the beat, the appoggiatura, and the turn) with minor variations.

It seems evident from the text that the ornamental practices of an earlier time were now out of vogue and that restraint in the use of such devices was encouraged: "The shake is (one if not) the most Principal Grace in Music if well performed but should not be so frequently and Injudiciously used as is often the Case, a judicious Ear will greatly corect [sic] the abuse of it" (p.10). The

appoggiatura, in contrast, is more highly recommended to the performer.

The Appoggiatura [*sic*] . . . may more frequently be used than any other, it is capable of great Expression if judiciously played, it is peculiarly graceful at the End of a Strain, by sustaining it as long as the time will admit; it is carefully attended to by all good performers both Vocal & Instrumental. (p. 11-12)

Both the plain and the turn'd shake are described as beginning on the note or half note above the principal, while the beat begins on the note below. The shake and grace as well as the passing shake are simple variations on the turn'd and plain shakes. The former uses an appoggiatura-like symbol before the main note and is realized by holding the note above one-half the value of the main note before proceeding with a turned shake. The passing shake is a simple progression of plain shakes played on every other note of a descending scale passage.

The text also gives examples of the realizations of both the appoggiatura and the turns. The appoggiatura is always designated by a small grace note placed before the main note of the melody. In general, the appoggiatura is given half the note value of the principal except when it is placed before a dotted note. In this case, the appoggiatura is given two-thirds of the note value of the main note.

Almost as an afterthought, the book includes a discussion of "the less appoggiatura [*sic*]" (p. 18) several pages later which gives a less mathematical and more aesthetic explanation of the performance of the ornament:

This Appoggiatura is chiefly made use of in quick movements; and when it occurs it [is] always slured [sic] immediately in to the Note following; it is also placed at the beginning of a Lesson or Piece of Music, to take off the harsh and disagreeable effect it otherwise would have, were it not for the aforesaid Note. (p. 18)

The turn is presented with two variations. The plain turn begins on the note above the principal, while the inverted turn begins on the note below. In both cases the ornament encircles the principal tone and ends on it. The examples go on to describe the use of accidentals within the turn and spell out the realization of such modifications.

Inserted within the discussion of the ornaments is an interesting explanation of "various characters & marks" (p. 11). These short definitions include the G or treble "Cliff", the repeat sign, slur, triplet markings, and the fermata or pause which is used to indicate "to hold the Note longer than it is played in the other parts of the Tune or Air, and is frequently put over the last Note of a piece of Music to denote the finish" (p.11). All the definitions are consistent with contemporary explanations of the terms, but it is interesting to note the use of the spelling "cliff" for the modern "clef."

Also included is an example of staccato designation and its realization. The directions indicate that the note "must be played with Spirit and Taste and held only half the Time, the remaining part is made up by an imaginary Rest between each Note" (p. 11).

The following section contains a rather convoluted discussion of transposing melodies from one key to another. The awkwardness of the passage occurs mainly from the fact that there is no preparatory explanation of the major and minor keys system.

Transposition is removing any Tune or Air into a higher or lower Key, within the Compass of the Instrument; the following Table will Show how any Tune or Lesson may be Transposed into any Key. By a Key, is meant the fundamental Note of a Tune, which is always the last Note in the Bass, and generally in the Air or principal Treble; Observe there are but two Determined Keys; the Major or Sharp Third, & Minor or Flat Third; See Example of Flat and Sharp Thirds. A Key is not denominated Flat, or Sharp, by the Flat or Shrp [sic] at the beginning but from the third above the Key Note, being a Flat or Sharp Third. (p.12-13)

The next several pages are devoted to a discussion of time within music and the symbols used to represent meter. The text reminds the student of the importance of keeping time in music, especially in ensemble performance: "Time is of the utmost consequence, and he that is not well acquainted with it can have no Claim to the Title of a Musician, and will never be able to play in Concert or with any one else where their [sic] is more than one part" (p. 14).

Included with the description of both common and triple time is an explanation for the student on how to beat time with the foot in order to facilitate performing the rhythm of a piece accurately.

In all kinds of Time the Foot goes down at the first Note in each Bar; in Common Time the foot is half down & half up in the Bar; in Triple Time the Foot must be down two thirds of the Bar, and up the last third (p. 15)

After this explanation follow two pages of examples of musical passages with the appropriate markings of "D" and "U" to indicate the foot position at various points within the measure.

The next section also includes an explanation of another physical aspect of flute performance--tonguing and double tonguing:

Tongueing [sic] constitutes a very essential part in playing the Flute, it marks with precision the beginning [sic] and other parts of Musical Accents, Articulation &c; the most approved way is by the Action & reaction of the Tongue against the Palate, or Roof of the Mouth, as in pronouncing the Letter T or D, the first is most spirited, the latter more soft and delicate; make the first Trial with the top joint of the Flute only, taking care the Tongue doth not impede the Tone which must immediately follow clear & full, after which put the Flute all together and do the same very distinctly, taking care the Tongue and Fingers move together; be careful to avoid the disagreeable and common habit of the Tongue passing between the Teeth and Lips, as if spitting [sic] something out of the Mouth.

Double Tongueing is of the first importance in playing the Flute, it give a Brilliancy of Articulation in the Allegro; as well as in the Largo, and renders quick passages easy where the common Tongueing is inadequate to the Rapidity. The most approv'd method is by the Action and reaction of the Tongue in pronouncing the words Tootle Tootle, or Diddle Diddle, very distinct; make the first trial with the top Joint &c as in the above Example. (p. 17)

The following 16 pages of the book contain a selection of 39 short pieces for the student to master. The works selected for this tutor are in the popular vein of the day as well. Many are either patriotic marches or simple folk and popular love songs. Clearly the inclusion of these types of works was aimed at appealing to the largest possible audience and therefore encouraging the greatest possible sales of the book.

Table 3 Contents of Lessons in New Preceptor for the German Flute

<u>Lesson</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Key</u>
1	Pleyel's German Hymn	D major
2	Romance de Richard	C major
3	Air in D Major duet	D major
4	Air for Two Flutes (duet)	D major
5	Blue Bell of Scotland	D major
6	Life let us Cherish	G major
7	Tink a Tink	G major
8	When Pensive, I thought of my love	D major
9	Yo heave Ho	D major
10	Within a Mile of Edinburgh	D major
11	The Rose Tree	D major
12	Owen	E minor
13	Sicilian Mariners Hymn (duet)	G major
14	Yankee Doodle	D major
15	President's March	D major
16	President's New March	G major
17	Washington's March	G major
18	Buonapartes [<u>sic</u>] Grand March	D major
19	Freemansons [<u>sic</u>] March	D major
20	Since then I'm Doom'd	G major
21	White Cockade	G major
22	The Little Sailor Boy	G major
23	March in Columbus	D min/maj
24	Duke of Yorks [<u>sic</u>] March	D/A major
25	Magie Lawder (with Variations for flute or violin with an added bass accompaniment)	D major
26	A Smile from the Girl of my Heart	C major
27	The Marsailles Hymn	G major
28	Stranger, think me not too bold	G major
29	March in Blue Beard (duet for two flutes or violins)	C major
30	French March	G major
31	London March	G major
32	French Guard's March	C major
33	Cape May	D major
34	The Yellow Haired Laddie	F major
35	Drink to me only	Bb major
36	Air by Pleyel	Eb major
37	Chantans l'Hymen	A major
38	Jefferson's March	D major
39	The Streamlet	D major

As shown in Table 3, the compiler of these works was careful to use the keys best suited to the one-keyed flute.

D major and G major, the two keys which have a minimal number of badly out-of-tune notes for this instrument, are used in thirty of the thirty-nine pieces. Since this particular instrument was completely unplayable in keys with more than three sharps or flats, these tonalities are avoided entirely. Even "Air by Pleyel" (Lesson 36) which the page states is in the "key of E major," is really in E-flat major. Evidently the flat symbol was inadvertently omitted from the annotation during the engraving process.

In other editorial notes, the compiler is also careful to remind the student to observe that key signatures are in effect throughout a work. The comment in "Chantans l'Hymen" reads: "N.B. In this Key every F, C & G must be played Sharp" (p. 34).

Several other features of the book would have particularly appealed to the beginning student. The first two pieces (p. 19) include a tablature beneath the staff to help the student with fingerings. Also, four of the works are flute duets which have a simpler first part for the novice performer.

It is interesting to note that one of the works included, "Jefferson's March," has the annotation, "Perform'd at the Grand Procession in Philadelphja [sic] 4th of March 1801" (p. 34), the date of Jefferson's inauguration. Evidently, this work was heard there and later transcribed by Shaw for inclusion in his preceptor the following year.

The last page of A New Preceptor for the German Flute was one of the only additions made by Graupner to Shaw's book. It is a glossary of musical terms with definitions. The 74 definitions appear in four columns and cover the terms "Allegro" through "Spiritoso." The glossary is essentially the same as the one included in the 1806 edition of Graupner's piano tutor, except that 16 terms from the end of the alphabet are omitted. This appears to have been due to space limitations. Rather than adding another page to the flute preceptor, Graupner arbitrarily chose to exclude some of the definitions used in the piano tutor.

Complete Preceptor for the German Flute

The title page of Graupner's second flute tutor reads:

G. Graupner's Complete Preceptor for the German Flute, containing accurate scales and Examples of the best Fingering to which is added a Collection of the most popular Airs, Marches, &c. &c. and a Concise Dictionary of Musical Terms. Boston, Published by G. Graupner and sold for him by John Ashton No. 197 Washington Street. (no date, title page)

The work consists of 50 pages: the title page, 32 pages of text (including 8 pages of fingering charts), 2 pages of glossary terms, and 15 pages of musical lessons and exercises. Although no date exists in the book itself, the copy of this work housed in the Boston Public Library is dated 1825 in the card catalog. This dating is quite possible since it was during the second half of the 1820s that Ashton was the agent for the sale of Graupner's music. The copy of the work housed

at the Newberry Library is dated in that catalog as 183?. Although this may have been the date of a later printing of the same plates, it hardly seems possible that this could be the original publishing date of the work since Graupner was for all intents and purposes was out of the publishing business by 1830.

One bit of internal evidence leads to the deduction that the work may have been first published even earlier than the 1820s. In the glossary, the definition for Andantino reads, "slower than Andante" (p. 17). This was the "early" definition used in the 1806 piano tutor. As was discussed earlier, in the 1819 edition, the meaning had changed to "a little quicker than Andante" (1819, p. 10). This later definition was also used in the 1826 edition of the clarinet instructor. Since it seems unlikely that Graupner would have revised the definition in 1819 only to change it back in the mid 1820s and then revert back in 1826, it may be that this flute preceptor which contains the earlier definition was actually completed before 1819. On the other end of the spectrum, the earliest possible date for this work would have been 1816 or 1817, since the musical examples include an air from Rossini's Barber of Seville which premiered in 1816.

Once again the previously published works of others play a large part in the compilation of this instructor. The Complete Preceptor includes sections of the tutors of J. Wragg

and R. Shaw (and thus, Graupner's own first flute book) and also the piano instructors of Muzio Clementi and Jan Dussek.

For example, the opening section on the elements of music (p. 2-16) is taken directly from the Clementi piano instructor. Graupner simply adapted certain musical examples for the range of the flute, omitting references to the bass clef.

There is an error in the discussion of note abbreviations on page 11 which is undoubtedly due to an oversight in the engraving process. The realization of a quarter note with two parallel lines drawn through the stem is given as four consecutive eighth notes, rather than sixteenth notes. Obviously, the second bar line was simply omitted from the printing plate.

The descriptions of the ornaments and the examples given are taken verbatim from the Clementi piano book. Since these have been described earlier in this chapter, the reader is referred to that discussion.

The next section of Graupner's book (p. 17-18) is a two-page glossary entitled, "Explanation of Various Terms in Music." Graupner included eighty-three terms with their definitions. As he had in earlier publications, Graupner relied heavily on the definitions provided by Dussek in his Instructions.

Graupner omitted seven of the terms which he had used in the first flute preceptor (Arpeggio, Capriccio [*sic*], Legato,

Loco, Minuett, Perdendoi [sic], and P. assai, or Pianissimo), and added 16 terms (Bene placito, Direct, Mancando, Rinforza, Sforzando, Siciliano, Smorzato, Sostenuto, Tacet, Tempo, Tenute, Thema, Variazione, Volti subito, Vivace, and Vigoroso). Most of the "new" definitions are those terms from the end of the alphabet which had been included in the piano instructor, but omitted (due to lack of space) from the first flute book.

After the glossary, the reader is provided with a discussion of the flute embouchure and body position for playing the instrument which, although not verbatim, is very reminiscent of the wording in The Flute Preceptor (Wragg, 1792).

In order to acquire a knowledge of the German Flute, the first thing to be attended to, is, placing the Flute properly to the Lips, to do this, take the first joint of the Instrument only, and place the Embouchure, or hole thereof, to the upper part of the under lip, drawing that, and the upper one even with each other, and extending them a little towards each ear leaving a small aperture for the wind to pass freely into the Instrument.

The Flute being placed and the lips formed as described, the next step is to acquire the intonation or method of sounding the Flute, which is done by inclining the Embouchure a little inwardly or outwardly and blowing moderately into the Flute till a clear and distinct sound is produced, . . . and [they] will find, that it will very much facilitate their progress towards obtaining a good embouchure if they pay particular attention to the following rules and observations respecting the position of the Flute. (p. 19)

In describing this position for holding the flute, the student is given a finger-by-finger placement on the instrument: "the thumb of the right hand should be placed nearly under the fifth hole with the little finger over the D

sharp Key, which will cause the tips of the other three fingers to lay over the holes which they are to stop" (p. 20). There are also specific instructions to the beginner to proceed carefully with the lower notes at first to produce "as full and round tone as possible, having all the holes stopped perfect [sic], being careful not to force the wind in too strong, or contract the lips so much as for the higher Notes" (p. 20).

The next page presents the student with a chart of the best fingerings for the D major scale on the one-keyed flute, "or a scale of notes not affected by the additional keys" (p.21). This chart includes a drawing of a one-keyed flute as well, so that the beginning student can easily see the relationship between the fingering chart and the holes on the instrument. The chart includes fingerings for the scale notes from d' to e''', two notes lower than those presented in the preceptor by Wragg. Following some exercises in progressive intervals, the text explains why the upper ranges were limited in these early examples:

In the preceding Progressive Exercises, I have not extended the Scale beyond E, wishing the Pupil to apply himself particularly to acquiring a full Tone on the lower Notes first, as all others beyond E. require a peculiar formation of the Lips to produce them clear and distinct, which will be found comparatively easy to be done in proportion to the Pupil having familiarized himself with the preceding Exercises. (p.23)

A series of fingering charts follows. The first is for all the notes chromatically for the one-keyed flute from d' through b-flat'''. There are enharmonic spellings (for

example C-sharp and D-flat) on the same line, and most often with two or three different possible fingerings to aid the performer in acquiring better intonation in a specific key.

The next three fingering charts are for the six-keyed flute rather than the one-keyed instrument. Again, the student is provided with a sketch of the instrument with lines clearly drawn to the fingering chart for easy identification. Always the businessman, Graupner evidently included fingerings for both instruments to appeal to the largest possible market of flutists and even stated: "These Gamuts will likewise do for a Four Keyd [sic] Flute by taking no notice of the two bottom Keys and beginning at the second Note" (p. 28).

Graupner chose to present the fingerings for the natural, sharp, and flat notes in separate charts rather than chromatically all together. This separation at first seems awkward for the beginning student, but upon further examination it appears to be an attempt by the teacher to emphasize the varying tone qualities of the enharmonic notes and the fingerings best suited to specific keys. The range of the flute is expanded in the charts for the six-keyed instrument from middle c to c-flat''', and the charts themselves are expanded as well. Both pages 29 and 30 of the text are fold-out double pages so that all the fingerings for the sharps and flats respectively can be viewed on one page.

The text again reverts to a paraphrase of Wragg's discussion of double-tonguing using the word "tootle" to articulate the notes.

Double Tongueing [sic] is the effect produced by the action of the Tongue against the roof of the mouth, and is to be acquired by the Pupil endeavoring to articulate the words, tootle, tootle, tootle, very distinctly, at the same time accommodating such articulation with the corresponding notes, as in the following Passages; the first of which, I would recommend to be played very slow [sic], and continued until the Pupil can with facility articulate each syllable distinctly. (p. 32)

Graupner, however, added to this discussion some new material not found in either the Wragg or Shaw preceptors.

The following Example is a deviation from the ordinary mode of Double Tongueing [sic], and will be found to produce a distinct expression in passages where the Pupil may wish to substitute it for the usual articulation of the word tootle. (p.32)

The use of the syllables "tettle teete" is also suggested for scale passages in running sixteenth notes and "te" is recommended for staccato passages in octaves.

The last section of performance instruction includes a discussion of beating time with the foot which is a paraphrase of the same material in both Wragg's tutor and Shaw's, and includes seven musical examples of where and when to lower and raise the foot in counting out beats in common, triple, and compound time.

The remaining 16 pages of the text are filled with 18 progressive lessons for the beginning flutist:

Table 4 Contents of Lessons in Complete Preceptor for the German Flute

<u>Lesson</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Composer</u>
1		D major	
2		D major	
3	[illegible]	D major	
4	Portugese [sic] Hymn	D major	
5		D major	
6	Musette de Nina	G major	
7	Since then I'm Doomed	G major	
8	Sicilian Mariner's Hymn	G major	
9	Bounaparte's Grand March	D major	
10	General Washington's March	G major	
	Andantino [illegible]	G major	
	Hungarian Waltz	G major	
12	Andante quasi Allegretto	D major	[Haydn]
13	Marseilles Hymn	G major	
14	March in Lodoiska	D major	[Kreutzer]
15	Air in Barber of Seville	C major	Rossini
16	A Spanish National Air	F major	
	Trio Di Tanti Palpitti	G major	[Rossini]

Once again, as seen in Table 4, Graupner included selections in keys which would have been relatively easy for the beginning performer (C, D, G, and F major). Fourteen of the works are for two flutes and one is for three instruments. The remaining three selections are for solo flute.

In addition to the usual American patriotic marches, Graupner included several nationalist pieces from European countries such as "Hungarian Waltz," "A Spanish National Air," "Marseilles Hymn," and "Portugese [sic] Hymn."

The book also contains several selections by well-known composers. There are two works of Giacomo Rossini ("An Air" from The Barber of Seville and "Di Tanti Palpitti," a cavatina from Tancredi); one of Franz Joseph Haydn ("Andante quasi Allegretto," which is the theme from the slow movement of the

famous Symphony in G Major, Number 94); and one of the then-famous violinist, Rodolphe Kreutzer ("March" from Lodoiska). All of these works were well-known in music circles in America. In fact, the Haydn and the Kreutzer works were performed often by Graupner and the Philharmonic Society, making them staples of the Boston concert fare.

New Instructor for the Clarinet

Because this work no longer appears to be extant, any discussion of its contents must rely upon secondary sources which are sketchy at best. In his listing of the larger works published by Graupner, Johnson (1943) simply stated:

New Instructor for the Clarinet, containing elements of music, fourteen progress lessons with a collection of airs, songs, marches, duets, &c. Selected by Gottlieb Graupner, Boston. (Copyright Jan. 15, 1811.) (Copy in Library of Congress.) (p. 334)

All of the other sources which mention this edition rely upon this brief listing for the basic information. Hopefully, some heretofore unopened attic or closet may provide a copy of the missing work so that it can be thoroughly examined and its contents discussed.

Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet

The title page of Graupner's second clarinet instructor contains the following:

G. Graupner's Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet, Containing an accurate Scale and Examples of the best Fingering to which is added a Collection of the most popular Airs, Marches, &c. &c. and a Concise Dictionary

of Musical Terms. Boston, Published by G. Graupner and Sold for him by John Ashton No. 197 Washington St. Copy Right Secured. July 14th, 1826. (title page)

Although the last page of the text is numbered 28, the clarinet tutor actually consists of 30 pages. Two unnumbered pages of fingering charts were inserted after pages 16 and 18. These two added pages were obviously hand-drawn onto the printing plates rather than punched, and may have been a later addition to the preceptor.

The first of the charts is a "Scale of Sharps" showing the fingerings for all the sharp notes (although B-flat is also included). The second is the "Natural Scale for the Clarionet [*sic*]" giving the natural notes fingers for the notes e through e'''. The diagram of the clarinet in both cases is of a five-keyed instrument similar to a type that was popular in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first 16 pages of the text of this book are virtually identical to that of Graupner's Complete Preceptor for the German Flute. The information on the elements of music here was again taken primarily from Clementi's instructor and includes the rudiments of music and music theory.

Following the opening section on the elements of music, Graupner included two pages of musical terms in a glossary. Except for the change in the meaning of the term, Andantino, as discussed earlier, the terms and their definitions are exactly the same as those used in the Complete Preceptor for the German Flute.

After the glossary and the inserted page of clarinet fingerings, Graupner included only three pages of instruction specific to the clarinet (or "clarionet" as he so often used). These include information on body position for playing the instrument, embouchure, the quality of reeds suited to beginners, and the means by which to achieve a fine tone on the clarinet.

The student is given the following advice for holding the instrument:

In carrying the Clarionet to the mouth, the head must neither be advance or inclined, as that prevents a free respiration. The head must be held straight naturally and without affectation, the left elbow at five or six inches from the body, the right elbow a little more raised, so that the Bell of the Clarionet may be about a foot and an half from the body, the fingers extended upon the holes, the wrists a little bent, the holes will be more easily covered, for in raising the wrist or the elbows the holes are opened from under the fingers, the thumb of the right hand under the Clarionet between the first and second fingers, the thumb of the left hand should be always ready to take the key or cover the hole, consequently it should make but small motions: It is the same with the Fingering in general, the fingers should be raised but a small distance from the Instrument and always perpendicularly. The hands should always incline towards the upper part of the Clarionet. None of the fingers should touch each other, in order to give a free cadence; It is necessary also, that when one or more fingers are raised they should remain perpendicularly over the holes which they must recover, for in withdrawing the fingers as many Scholars do, they always find it very difficult to get a good and correct tone. (p. 19)

The second article of this section is the discussion of the clarinet embouchure which is referred to as "the foundation of all wind Instruments" (p. 19). The student is cautioned not to put the mouthpiece too far back in the mouth,

"but only as far as where the Reed begins to thicken" and then to "rest the mouth piece upon the teeth, cover the Reed with the Lip, without allowing the teeth to touch it in any case" (p. 19). This style of playing in which the reed was uppermost in the mouth (the opposite of the modern position for playing) was very common in the early nineteenth century. Preceptors for the instrument were just as likely to recommend one method as the other.

The text encourages the novice clarinetist to avoid using hard reeds which would make the instrument harder to play than necessary. Instead, a softer reed is recommended for the student to use while perfecting the lower register of the instrument and before attempting the higher, more difficult register

In the final section on the method of acquiring a fine tone, the student is admonished not to attempt music more difficult than he or she is able to perform and to play at a reasonable tempo, so that the overall tone is acceptable. Graupner's sermonizing may seem overbearing to the modern reader, but one can well imagine the master saying these same things to his students in their private lessons:

The beauty of the Clarionet [sic], is to get from it a fine and smooth tone, and then Pleasure may be given with this Instrument even if played indifferently; but all the Connoisseurs will not approve of this last phrase; for they have often had proofs to the contrary; but these proofs proceed only from the bad choice of Music which beginners play; They hardly have quitted their Master, when the[y] play in small private Concerts pieces of Music absolutely beyond their power. If they were to choose singing pieces and not very difficult, they would

then prove that a fine sound well maintained would take the place of those greatest difficulties which they cannot execute and which make the audience suffer. Let us return to the subject of the fourth article--To acquire a fine tone, do not endeavour to run your fingers over the Instrument, but on the contrary, play the Gamut very slowly swelling the sound of every Note. When you are sure of the Gamut then play Adagios or Andantes, banish Allegro's and Presto's untill you are sure of the sound and of the fingering, (p. 20-21)

The final six pages of the text are filled with short selections for the clarinet. There are 13 unnumbered pieces.

Table 5 Contents of Lessons in Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet

<u>Title</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Composer</u>
Untitled (folk song commonly known as "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star")	C major	
German Hymn	C major	
Life let us cherish	C major	
La Pipe ta Bac	C major	
Turkish March in the Battle of Prague	C major	[Kotzwara]
Duke of York's March	F/C major	
The Blue Bell of Scotland	F major	
March in the Battle of Prague	F major	[Kotzwara]
To Bacchus	F major	
Madam Buonapart's [<u>sic</u>] Cotillion	C major	
Ballini's Rondo	C major	
Absence	F major	
The Manly Heart	F major	

Once again, Graupner included the types of music which would have been well known to the middle class (see Table 5). They are simple folk songs, love songs, drinking songs, marches, and even a hymn. Two of the selections are taken from one of the most famous "battle" pieces of the period, The Battle of Prague by Frantisek Koczwara (d. 1791), a very popular piano composition which had been arranged for all

types of ensembles and performed repeatedly in America during the early 1800s.

Graupner's selection of keys of the works must also be discussed. He chose only two keys (F and C major), which seems puzzling since the book was intended to be instructional. Although these are the keys one would expect in the first few exercises, it seems implausible that the student would not have been expected to progress to more remote keys by the end of the thirteenth selection. Also, since Graupner specifically included a fingering chart of the sharp notes (rather than one for flats), it is curious that he did not include any exercises in any of the sharp keys.

Another interesting observation concerning the musical examples here is the consistently high range used for the beginning clarinetist. The first three selections, for example, all include notes above the treble clef staff, well above the normal beginning range for the instrument. It is curious that Graupner chose to set these pieces so high when the first could have easily been transposed to begin an octave lower, thus lying more within the range of beginner. The other two works, transposed down a fifth, would still have been in an appropriate key for the novice.

The Unpublished Preceptor for the String Bass

Among his many other talents, Gottlieb Graupner was often a performer on the string bass. It is not surprising to

discover that he had plans for a pedagogy book for this instrument. No copies of a published preceptor for the string bass have ever been unearthed, but Wolfe (1980) discovered through a study of the probate proceedings of Graupner's estate that the plates for such an instructor did exist and were listed in his property.

When Gottlieb Graupner died in 1836, he left no will, but the court appointed his second wife to administer his estate. Evidently, the widow, Mary Graupner, and her stepchildren (the children of Catherine and Gottlieb) were arguing over the exact contents of the estate and its disbursement. The correspondence through their lawyers mentioned the existence of some pewter music plates left by the deceased. The only plates which were not sold were those belonging to a music catalog which consisted of eight pages, a double bass instructor of 45 pages, and a piano tutor of 51 pages. This last set of plates is obviously those which were used for the second edition of Rudiments.

Exactly when Graupner began working on the string bass book is unknown. No mention of its publication has ever been found. Possibly, it was a project begun during Graupner's later years that never came to fruition. Since the string bass was a much less popular instrument than either the piano, flute, or clarinet, perhaps Graupner decided that the printing of the work would not have been a successful business venture, and he decided to put aside publishing it until a later date.

A reversal of his business ventures in later years as well as deteriorating health possibly kept this project from ever being completed.

CHAPTER 5
SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Johann Christian Gottlieb Graupner (1767-1836) was a highly regarded musician and influential champion for the development of art music in Boston during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Not only was he an accomplished performer on several instruments, but he also was a music teacher, the proprietor of a music store, and one of the first to publish music in Boston. Along with his wife, Catherine Hillier Graupner, and a handful of other prominent Boston musicians, Graupner promoted the art of music in that city. He was the dominant force behind the formation and development of the Philharmonic Society and one of the organizers of Boston's famous Handel and Haydn Society.

Graupner published over 400 musical works including a group of preceptors, or instructional books, for various musical instruments. They include Rudiments of Playing on the Piano Forte, first published in 1806 with a second printing in 1808 and then a revised edition appearing in 1819 with subsequent printings in 1825 and 1827; A New Preceptor for the German Flute, published sometime between 1807 and 1809; A New Instructor for the Clarinet, published in 1811 (no known

copies are extant); Complete Preceptor for the German Flute, published in or about 1825; and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet, published on July 14, 1826. Graupner also evidently pursued the idea of a preceptor for the double bass, as printing plates for such a work were listed as part of his estate. There is no evidence, however, that the book was actually published.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century music instruction was a rapidly developing field in the United States. This is evidenced by the increased number of musical instruments and music sold after 1800, as well as the greater numbers of people who earned a living as music teachers, publishers, and suppliers. Music was considered to be an important aspect of the socially acceptable "complete" education.

Because of Graupner's preeminent standing in the Boston music community during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and his prominence as a music teacher there, his pedagogical works hold an invaluable wealth of information about the type of music instruction available to music students during that time.

The overall purposes of this study were threefold. The first was to present a comprehensive analysis of these individual pedagogical works to determine the type of musical instruction available during this early period of American music history and also to examine the types of musical

literature to which the amateur music public was exposed. The second purpose was to consider these works within the historical context of postrevolutionary America, a society in its infancy in terms of its development and support of the arts. The final purpose was to supplement the currently available musicological research on Gottlieb Graupner, giving special emphasis to his contributions to music instruction and curriculum in Boston in the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

A review of the literature showed that Gottlieb Graupner is mentioned briefly in all the major works on American music history. Although a careful examination of his life had also been completed (Johnson, 1943), a thorough study of his pedagogical works had never been undertaken.

Both Rosenblum (1974) and Clark (1988) have shown that in Graupner's piano pedagogy book, he repeated large sections of Clementi's Introduction to the Art of Playing the Piano Forte (1801/1974) verbatim without any attribution to the original author. Also, Graupner's glossary of terms was taken in large part from Dussek's Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte or Harpsichord (1796). A detailed examination of all Graupner's pedagogy books was necessary in order to determine whether the wind preceptors followed this same pattern and, if possible, to determine the original sources. A thorough discussion of the overall contents of the books was needed also in order to evaluate examples of the kind of

private music instruction which was available in the early nineteenth century in the United States.

The major focus of the present research, therefore, was to locate copies of Gottlieb Graupner's pedagogical works and then to analyze the contents in light of their historical setting. Copies of all the preceptors (some in differing editions and printings) were found and studied, except for A New Instructor for the Clarinet which no longer appears to be extant.

Discussion and Conclusions

It is to be expected that the musical training and experiences of a performer, writer, and publisher of music would have an influence on that person's approach to his or her work. This certainly is true in the life of Gottlieb Graupner. His early training in Germany and his short sojourn in London as a young adult helped to mold his basic concepts about music and its performance. This philosophy, which he brought with him when he immigrated to the United States just before 1800, was an important influence in his approach to music.

These European influences are manifested in several ways in his pedagogical works and were certainly also an important force in his teaching style as well. Graupner relied heavily on the previously published works of European teacher-performers to formulate his pedagogy books. In so doing, he

provided students with a thorough grounding in the rudiments of music theory and basic musical instruction on these instruments. His selection of music for inclusion in these pedagogical books tended to blend a love of the old masters with a keen perception of the types of music which would sell books. The latter included the popular patriotic music of the day and the simple love and folk songs prominent on the American stage at that time.

The findings of this research corroborated the conclusions of Rosenblum (1974) and Clark (1988) who both pointed out the vast amount of material which Graupner took verbatim from the works of Muzio Clementi (1801/1974) and Jan Dussek (1796) in compiling his piano pedagogy books. It was also shown, however, that the wind preceptors were similarly comprised of materials from previously published works. Graupner once again used the sections on the rudiments of music theory from the Clementi instructor and many of the definitions from Dussek's glossary for his woodwind instructors. Further, it was discovered that large sections from J. Wragg's flute preceptor (1792) appear to have been the basis for much of the text in Graupner's Complete Preceptor for the German Flute.

This unabashed appropriation of another's work, while considered unlawful in the present age, was a common occurrence in the publishing history of early America. The intent here, however, was not to debate the ethics of

plagiarism, but rather to present the facts concerning these works and their sources. As was also discussed, the copyright laws of this country at that time effectually promoted the republication of works by non-American writers for distribution and sale in the United States.

Obviously, Graupner held all of these musical writers in high esteem, and felt that their work would be helpful to his students and others in their study of music. Clementi, Dussek, and Wragg were all prominent musicians in London in the 1790s when Graupner also was actively performing there. Although there is no current documentation that he ever knew these men personally or even attended their performances, it is certain that he would have been familiar with their work and aware of their great reputations as teachers and performers. He wisely chose the works of reputable teachers to use as the basis for his own music instructors and in so doing provided thorough teaching materials for his own students. Even Clark (1988) when speaking of the impact of the piano instructor admitted: "Anyone who mastered the contents certainly rose beyond the level of mere dilettante" (p. 296).

The one seeming exception to this pattern of copying from the work of well-known performer-teachers is Graupner's first flute tutor, A New Preceptor for the German Flute, which was published by him around 1807. It was shown to be virtually an exact copy of a flute instructor (1802) published by Ralph

Shaw, a relatively unknown American publisher of music. It is obvious from a comparison of the two works, that Graupner acquired the original printing plates from Shaw. After making a few superficial changes, including removing Shaw's name from the first page, Graupner continued to publish the work under his own name. Much of the contents of this work, however, also bears a striking resemblance to Wragg's preceptor, and thus was certainly not a completely original work by Shaw either.

Graupner was careful to include in all his works a thorough grounding in the basic rudiments of music theory instruction including an explanation of musical notation, rhythm, meter, key signatures, and the like. His works also included a glossary of musical terms to aid the beginning student even further.

An analysis of Graupner's pedagogical works showed that there have been some interesting changes in performance practices since the early 1800s. The most obvious is a change in the use and definitions of musical terminology. In some cases, Graupner simply used the terms which were current at the time but are now no longer in popular usage, such as the names for the books themselves ("instructors," "tutors," and "preceptors"). In other instances, however, the discrepancies are more significant. The definitions of tempo markings, for instance, were not generally solidified and universally accepted until later in the nineteenth century. A study of

the definitions used in Graupner's texts and the musical glossaries helped to follow the changes and ambiguities in some of these terms which certainly would have had an influence on the contemporary performance practice as well.

The explanation of the use and realization of ornaments in Graupner's works gave insights into the area of performance practice at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Graupner based his definitions of ornaments upon Clementi's work. Unlike earlier pedagogical works, such as those of the French clavecin school (Couperin, Rameau) which gave much more emphasis to the delineation of many ornaments, Clementi (and thus, Graupner) limited the discussion to appoggiaturas, turns, shakes (trills), and beats (mordents). The trend at the beginning of the nineteenth century was to use ornamentation to enhance but not obscure the melodic line. The main note of the ornament was increasingly (but not exclusively) emphasized over the neighboring tones, which gave prominence to the importance of the melody.

Graupner's pedagogical books also provided students with instruction concerning the physical aspects of holding or sitting at their instruments. The piano tutors, for example, gave the student information on fingering and hand position. In fact, the second edition included a drawing of the hand at the keyboard and a discussion of using the piano pedals. In a similar manner, the woodwind instructors provided the student with details on embouchure and hand position,

including fingering charts for the normal range of the instruments.

The art of legato keyboard playing professed by Clementi was also presented very clearly in Graupner's piano tutors. Not only did he discuss the merits of this style of performance, but he also presented the student with specific finger substitution exercises to help strengthen his or her legato-playing abilities.

The sections of the preceptors which give the clearest insights into Graupner's musical preferences are also the most original in terms of content. These musical lessons or exercises were included for the students to learn to perform on their instrument. The music he selected in these sections is a combination of old European masters and the popular music of the Boston theater stage (such as, "Life Let us Cherish," "The Manly Heart," and "Since Then I'm Doomed [sic]) alongside such rousing patriotic music of the day as "General Washington's March" and "President's New March."

The piano tutors contain more serious art music than do the woodwind preceptors. For example, the composers represented in the first edition of Rudiments (1806) include many of those whose music was popular in England during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Included are such "old masters" as Handel, Domenico Scarlatti, and Corelli along with the contemporary composers, Haydn, Loelein, Linley, Nauman, Pleyel, Hook, Kreutzer, Bergfeld, and even Graupner

himself. It is noteworthy that Graupner (albeit via Clementi) included a work by Johann Sebastian Bach ("Polonaise" from the Sixth French Suite) which, according to Clark (1988), marks the first time that a Bach composition had been included in an American publication.

The second edition (1819) continued in a similar vein; however, several changes in repertoire selection were made. The work by Bach was omitted, while additional pieces by Corelli, Pleyel and one by Haydn were included. The special admiration that Graupner felt for Haydn (under whom he had performed in London) was shown in his inclusion of keyboard reductions of selections from Haydn's orchestral works. He included the themes from both the "Andante" of Symphony No. 53 in D Major ("Imperial") and the "Minuet" from Symphony No. 100 in G Major ("Military"). These were works that the Philharmonic Society (under Graupner) also performed regularly in Boston, and thus would have been familiar to the Boston concert-going public.

The woodwind tutors, however, are a much more eclectic compilation of music. Alongside a work by Pleyel or Haydn, for example, one finds a series of patriotic marches, folk tunes, and contemporary love songs, with a decided preponderance of the latter three categories of music. Also, these tutors contained many duets so that students could obtain practice in ensemble performance. Music was indeed a social pastime of the upper and upper-middle classes at this

time, and Graupner knew the types of literature which would be enjoyed at these gatherings held around the music stand or piano in the family parlor.

Although there are no records indicating the exact number of copies of each of the preceptors which were published, it is clear that the piano books were the most successful from a business standpoint. The first edition of Rudiments (1806) was printed at least twice, as evidenced by the changes in the glossary of two first-edition copies. The second printing most likely occurred about 1808. The second edition, first published in 1819, was also reissued in 1825 and again in 1827. In this case, the dates are easily discernible since Graupner included them on the preface page of each new printing. All this printing activity supports the conclusion that the piano instructors were selling well. Less is known of the success of the woodwind tutors. It seems logical, however, to surmise that since Graupner ventured to publish a second work for both the flute and the clarinet, that he had had sufficient economic success with the first books to warrant the time and expense for the later works.

Historical studies of music education have tended to focus mainly on the development of curriculum and instruction in the public school sector. The influence of private music instruction on music education in general has not received the attention it deserves. This research dealt with the pedagogical works of Gottlieb Graupner in order to develop an

understanding of the interdependency of the two areas of instruction as they exist within the social environment.

It can hardly be considered coincidental that Boston, the city where Graupner worked to help to cultivate the art of music, would also become the place where, in 1838 (only two years after Graupner's death), music would first be admitted into the curriculum of the public schools. The pioneering work in private music instruction in Boston undertaken by Graupner and others like him helped to foster the type of environment which allowed for the accomplishments of the later and decidedly more famous music educators such as Lowell Mason.

Recommendations

The following recommendation are made for further study:

The whole issue of plagiarism during the early years of our nation is one which is ripe with possibilities for research. As was demonstrated, Graupner's penchant for copying European models was a widely accepted practice in early America. A study of other pedagogical works and treatises published in America would certainly provide more examples of this activity.

This dependence on European models for publishing all types of music literature, however, went deeper than a simple desire to sell books. Understanding and documenting the extent of this influence would be helpful in explaining

American society's psychological dependence on Europe during this time and in appreciating the musical climate in which musicians and composers were working. Such studies could shed light upon such areas as America's reluctance for decades to embrace any of her own composers except those who were European-trained and who composed in that accepted style.

There is also a need for continued research into the history of private music instruction in America and the role that it played in the advancement of the acceptance of music into the curriculum of the public school system. Today, as well, private music instruction continues to play a vital role in the enhancement, development, and support of the art in society. An understanding of this role could help educators in preparing more effective instructional materials and methods of teaching.

A comparison of pedagogical materials from various time periods in American history is needed to help outline a pattern of development of music instruction over time. Such a comparison would be of inestimable use in documenting the changes in such areas as performance practices and literature preferences as well as the changing conceptions of the basic philosophy of musical learning.

The changing social role of music and music education in this country during the nineteenth century might also be examined in terms of the effects on the development of contemporary art music as well as vernacular music. This type

of research, advocated by Crawford (1983), would help to erase the artificial lines which are often drawn to separate the two musical "worlds" and would also provide a new paradigm for examining our own musical history. As Crawford himself concluded:

I am willing to predict that a study of musical learning in nineteenth-century America will surprise us. Americans, accustomed to thinking of musical tradition as a matter of repertory, tend to believe that we have grown beyond and repudiated all but a tiny part of our own musical past. Perhaps, however, if we define our legacy more broadly, incorporating musical learning and related issues into our musical history, we will discover that our American roots run deeper than we had thought. (p. 7)

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Debra Hess was born December 4, 1953, in St. Joseph Michigan, the daughter of Richard and Helen Lambrecht. She attended both parochial and public schools in St. Joseph and also began studying the piano and organ there.

She graduated summa cum laude in 1975 with a Bachelor of Science in Education degree from Concordia College in Seward, Nebraska. Ten years later she began graduate studies at the University of Florida, where she was awarded a Graduate Council Fellowship. She received the Master of Fine Arts degree in sacred music in 1988.

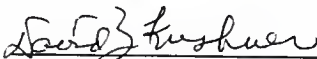
In that same year she began doctoral studies at the University of Florida, where she was again awarded a Graduate Council Fellowship. She served as a graduate assistant and was awarded a Graduate Student Teaching Award in 1991. Mrs. Hess was inducted into Pi Kappa Lambda, the National Music Honor Society, and Pi Lambda Theta, the National Honor and Professional Association in Education. She also received the Presidential Recognition Award in 1990.

Debra Hess has served as director of music and organist in churches in Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Texas, and Florida. She has also taught in elementary schools in Minnesota, Missouri, and Texas for several years. She is a

member of the American Guild of Organists, the American Musicological Society, and the College Music Society. Currently, she serves as the director of admissions for the Music Department at the University of Florida.

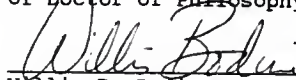
Debra Hess is married to Steven J. Hess. They have two children, Peter, 13, and Adam, 10.

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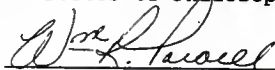
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Willis R. Bodine
Professor of Music

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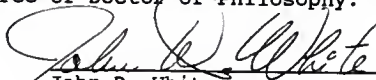
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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the College of Education and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December, 1992

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